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METHODIST

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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Art. I.—POPE'S CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

A Compendium of Christian Theology, being Analytical Outlines of a Course of Theological Study; Biblical, Dogmatic, Historical. By W. B. Pope, D.D., Theological Tutor, Didsbury College, Manchester. London: Published for the Author at the Wesleyan Conference Office. 1875.

It is not strange that the skeptical and latitudinarian spirit of modern thought in questions of religion rises in opposition to systematic theology. Even with some thinkers holding evangelical affiliations there is a growing depreciation not only of systematic theology, which such decry, but of all doctrinal theology. Creeds are an evil, and doctrines should be dismissed from the pulpit. Opposition thus becomes broad and radical, and, as we believe, so far as prevalent, subversive of the very foundations of true religion.

No religion has ever existed without the materials for a creed. No one can ever take a high form as a religion of true spiritual power, except in the apprehension of great religious truths in the faith of its subjects. And these truths, properly formulated, are religious doctrines. Faith enters largely into all religious life, and must so enter. Its prominence in revealed religion is no arbitrary appointment, but springs from a necessity arising in our mental and moral constitution. And the grand sphere of our faith is a sphere of doctrines. Even the great facts which it embraces are full of doctrines; and without the doctrines which they embody and bear to our faith, they would be void of their grandeur and practical religious force.

Doctrines enter into the very faith and life of religion. And as well exclude the mind from all objective relations, and yet require of it all the varied activities of thought and feeling which such relations necessarily condition, as to require the faith and feeling of a true religious life in the exclusion of the doctrinal truths which in a like necessity condition them. And, historically, the periods of the highest, best religious life are the very periods characterized by the fullest, clearest doctrine. And the order of every religious reformation has been, first, a reformation of doctrine, and then, through faith in the better doctrine, a new and better religious experience and life. It must ever be so. Such is the chronological order because it is the logical order.

But it is objected that, at the very least, the systemization of doctrines is valueless. It is true that, in the logical order, the formulation of the doctrines severally must precede their construction in a system. Hence, it is alleged that systemizing adds nothing, and is, therefore, useless. But, if nothing is thereby added to the doctrines severally, neither is any thing taken from them, nor are they in any way changed or damaged. And this objection has no special pertinence to systematic theology, and really arises from opposition to doctrines. And if we have doctrines in religion which admit of scientific construction, there can be no valid objection to their systemization.

It is further objected that doctrinal theology, and especially systematic theology, engenders bigotry. It may do so, but does not either necessarily or by natural tendency. Theologists have been earnest in maintenance of their creeds; and properly so, because in their deepest convictions such creeds contain vital truths. Bigotry may enter into this support. So it may and does enter into the advocacy of mere negative creeds, the special aim of which is the subversion of the cardinal doctrines of Christian theology. There is often the bigotry of negation and destruction. And the self-styled liberalist is not rarely the most intensely illiberal. And as it respects bigotry or the spirit of a true liberality, orthodoxy has no concessions to make to latitudinarianism. And in an affirmative or vindicatory view there is exceeding much to justify the scientific construction of Christian doctrines.

The mind by its own constitution tends to this work—in-

deed requires it. We cannot be satisfied without it. As by a law of the mind we are impelled to inquire into the qualities of things, so by a law equally impellent we inquire into their relations and accordance. This result is inevitable in all profounder study; and such relations and accordance are as veritable and profitable subjects of study as the things themselves separately viewed. All scientific and philosophic history is in proof of this mental tendency and need. Scholarly minds have diligently studied facts as they arise in all the departments of investigation, but they cannot rest in them merely as individual or isolated, however numerous and interesting in themselves. A law of their mind has impelled them to classify these facts, and to generalize them in the laws which harmonize and unite them. Thus we have the sciences and the philosophies.

Shall we, then, in the grander field of theology, bar the highway of advancement, and when the mind would achieve the sublimest results in the generalization and harmony of religious truth, violently thrust it back upon the merest elements? This would be unnatural, and deeply damaging to all the best interests of theological study. No one denies the grandeur or benefit of the results of systemization in the sciences usually so called. And without rising to these results by the only method of reaching them, we must have remained in the merest elements of truth. In such a state we should have a race in juvenility instead of the noblest manhood. Nor must we deny to theology a method which in other departments has achieved such results. For it is only as in a like method we study its doctrines in their relations, and systemize them in a grand scientific whole, that we can ever rise to the clearer view and profounder comprehension of divine truth.

As pertinent to these views, and as setting forth the benefits of a systematic study and treatment of theology, we quote from the work under review:—

> It is of great importance that the student should imbue his mind at the outset with a sense of the possibility and the advantage of a well-articulated system. In the organic unity of Christian truth every doctrine has its place in some cycle of doctrines, while all the lesser systems revolve around one common center; and it is one of the fruits of theological study to enable the student to locate every topic at once. But not only so. There are

rich and profound harmonies among these truths; and every doctrine having its proper place, has also its relations to almost every other: the quick ascertainment of these relations is another fruit. Putting the two together, the aim of this study should be to discover all the affinities and connections of the truths of the Christian system.—Pp. 17, 18.

As the scientific discussion and systemization of theology is of great value in aiding us to a clearer and more comprehensive view of the doctrines wrought into the system, and as the truths so apprehended are at once conservative and promotive of the best interests of religion, we, therefore, heartily welcome this new contribution of Dr. Pope, and we so welcome it for some special reasons.

Dr. Pope is a member of the British Wesleyan Conference, and has a covetable home reputation for intellectual ability, learning, and scholarly industry. He has been for years theological tutor in the Didsbury College, and has special preeminence as a theologian. And, as delegate from his own conference to our late General Conference, his address evinced a mind of a high scientific and philosophic order, deeply evangelical in tone, and richly fraught with religious truth. These facts are full of promise, and give rise to an expectation of a valuable work in theology. Nor does the work itself disappoint this expectation.

And we have here a system of Christian theology from an Arminian stand-point. Of such we have comparatively few. The great majority of works on systematic theology, especially those of an evangelical life, are from a Calvinistic position; and it is to be regretted that Methodism has had to wait so long for an additional work both Arminian and evangelical in its life. Mr. Wesley was a voluminous writer, as were some of his co-laborers, and we have had many competent writers since; but for a hundred years and more of our history no one except Mr. Watson attempted a systematic theology. Certain monographs and mere outlines are no exceptions. Nor are some larger works, either being founded upon "Watson's Institutes," or lacking comprehension. That we have produced only one such work in so long and successful a career is a singular fact, as well as one to be regretted. And the preaching and habits of thought of

many of our leading ministers have been eminently doctrinal. Perhaps the common acceptance of the "Institutes" of Mr. Watson as thoroughly sound in doctrine, and as of such superior ability that no one might hope to achieve even an equal success, has been a chief cause of this fact. Nor would we utter words in depreciation of the "Institutes." They have rendered most valuable service and will continue to do so. Yet the amount of quotation which they contain is to their detriment. Had Mr. Watson relied more upon his own superior abilities he would have given more unity and symmetry to his work, and also a higher scientific character. It is deficient in the higher excellences of theological style. And, probably, there is no leading Methodist mind that would not prefer a far higher mental philosophy than that which underlies the "Institutes." But granting all the superiority ever claimed for them, it is not well that one mind should furnish the systematic theology of a great Church for so many years. Besides, the rapid strides and new positions of science and philosophy, new forms of skeptical criticism and objection, and modified views of opposing schools of theology, all call for a re-establishment of the doctrines which we hold as vital. We, therefore, welcome the work of Dr. Pope as an additional contribution to the systematic theology of Arminian Methodism. And we are, also, glad to know that other works are in advanced preparation.

We also welcome this work as an intrinsically valuable one. Being professedly in the form of outlines, and compassing in one octavo volume a rather broad treatment of the topics of theology, most of the discussions are necessarily brief. Yet the need of elaboration is largely superseded by thoroughness of analysis, exactness of method and definitive statement, terseness, and clearness of style.

We do not propose a general review of the work before us, a thing wholly impracticable indeed within the necessary limits of this paper. After a brief notice of the more prominent points, we may consider more fully the discussion of some of the cardinal doctrines of Christian theology.

The main divisions of the work embrace the great topics somewhat common to systems of theology of the higher order, and are given under the following headings: I. Divine Rule of Faith. II. God. III. God and the Creature. IV. Sin.

V. The Mediatorial Ministry. VI. The Administration of Redemption. VII. Eschatology.

The Scriptures are fully and correctly recognized as the rule and authoritative standard of the Christian faith. Yet, in entire consistency with this position, the author fully accepts the cardinal principles of natural theology, and for this he has the full warrant of the Scriptures themselves. They clearly recognize a light of nature in the frame-work of the heavens and the earth as revealing a God, and a moral reason in man as revealing and enforcing the will of God. Still, for clearness, fullness, and authority, the Scriptures infinitely transcend all the revelations of nature, and are by all pre-eminence the divine rule of faith. This rule is discussed under three divisions: Revelation, Inspiration, Canon.

Revelation is thus defined:—

> 1. Revelation, taken in its broadest meaning, includes every manifestation of God to the perception of man: whether in the constitution of the human mind, in the frame-work of nature, or in the processes of providential government. It embraces the whole compass of the divine disclosures, whether in act or word, whether by immediate contact of the eternal Spirit with the human soul, or by mediating instrumentalities.
>
> 2. Revelation, in the stricter, deeper, fuller sense, is the unfolding of the eternal counsel of God in Christ for the restoration of man to fellowship with himself; and, as such, it is perfected in the Christian Scriptures in the final testimony of Jesus.—P. 24.

In the first definition revelation is far broader than the Scripture. Hence, it does not define or distinctively characterize them as a revelation. The second, as it seems to us, has a like deficiency. It is rather a statement of the great and crowning truth given us in Revelation, than a definitive characterization of the Scriptures as a revelation. Yet if their alleged claims are valid, there is, and there must be, some specific fact thoroughly differentiating them from all the revelations of nature on questions of religion, and distinctively defining them as a divine revelation. This fact we find in a supernatural agency. Revelation is truth supernaturally given. And it is the divine agency working in a supernatural mode which constitutes the truth so given a revelation. And the Scriptures are a divine revelation so far, and only so far, as they have their origin in such an agency. Nor is this position

affected by any question respecting the mode, or differences of mode, in which this agency may have worked. Whether the truth be written by the finger of God as the Decalogue, or given in dream or vision, or in verbal dictation, or in the substance of it, while the mind of the recipient determines the manner of expression, we still have a supernatural agency which constitutes the truth so given a divine revelation. It hence follows that such revelation is not necessarily limited to the Scriptures. Nor do we believe that it is. Doubtless many a devout heathen has been helped by a special divine agency to higher religious truth than otherwise he would have obtained. And such have in some measure been made prophets to others. But the Scriptures, given by the highest supernatural agency, and containing the highest religious truth, and withal verified and accredited by the divine testimony, are in all pre-eminence the divine revelation, and the authoritative rule of faith.

On the credentials of the Christian faith the author discusses briefly, but with clearness and force, the evidences which verify the divine original of the Scriptures. He gives special prominence to the following topics: 1. Christianity is a full and satisfying response to an expectation of mankind, and especially to its own preparatory disclosures. 2. The divine agency and authority as manifested in miracles, prophecy, inspiration. 3. The character of Christ. 4. The influence of Christianity. 5. The presence of the Holy Ghost. Under the third heading he says:—

> The person of Christ, the author of Christianity, is its highest credential. This is true of our Lord's character generally; but for our present purpose it will be sufficient to regard him as the founder of his own religion, and to mark the perfect consistency with which he supports his claim to be the divine-human revealer. The strength of this argument will be found to be only increased by the theories adopted to resist it. There is no rational way of accounting for the person and work of Christ but that which accepts the divine origin of Christianity.—P. 34.

The argument so grounded and constructed is valid and most conclusive. In its more specific and effective form it belongs rather to the modern treatment of apologetics. It is the resistless response of the Church to the desperate onslaughts of skepticism. Christianity is not to be overthrown with a jest or

a sneer, as infidelity has well learned. It is a great fact in history. The Gospels we have, and Christianity we have; and the Christ of the Gospels and of Christianity must be accounted for. The divine origin of Christianity renders a rational account. On no other ground can such an account be rendered. Yet this is the dire necessity of a multiform rationalism. And it is true enough that the strength of this argument is only increased by the theories adopted to resist it. The mythical theory of Strauss and the legendary theory of Renan are in forceful illustration. Ullman's "Sinlessness of Jesus" renders the chief service in this argument. Bushnell's "Character of Jesus," Young's "Christ in History," "Ecce Homo," "Ecce Deus," and many other works, follow in the same line, presenting the argument, however, in new phases, and contributing to its invincible strength.

Inspiration, another cardinal fact as concerned in the "Rule of Faith," has a brief but clear and valuable discussion. The author treats the subject under several heads—Scripture testimony, historical development, dogmatic results. He clearly favors what is called the dynamical theory, as obviating the difficulties of the mechanical theory, and yet as securing a valid doctrine of plenary inspiration. And as the question of inspiration is one of great importance, we quote with the greater fullness his more definitive statements :—

> The word inspiration, as distinguished from revelation, means the specific agency of the Holy Ghost in the creation and construction of the Holy Scripture.—P. 60. Dogmatic theology has a clear account to give of inspiration. The Scriptures, fairly compared and interpreted, declare it to be that specific influence of the Holy Ghost on the minds of certain men which qualified them to communicate, from age to age, an infallible record of divine truth concerning the redeeming will of God.—P. 75. But the Spirit used his instruments as men. They were not passive in the writing of Scripture, though in some cases they were passive in receiving revelation. They wrote, sometimes after long intervals, what they had received, and always according to the characteristics of their individual genius, style of thought, and diction. But their faculties were raised, invigorated, and strengthened to their highest pitch. What has been termed the DYNAMICAL Theory, namely, that the influence of inspiration acted upon and through the faculties of the inspired person, is known to be true by all the phenomena of the several books. From the record of the most

transcendent vision down to the simplest private letter, the writer in Scripture is true to himself.—P. 77. The inspiration of the Holy Ghost makes Holy Scripture the absolute and final authority, all-sufficient as the supreme standard of faith, directory of morals, and charter of privileges to the Christian Church.—P. 79.

These views we accept as judicious and true, and, for the present, in full accord with the position of the best minds of the Church—minds thoroughly evangelical in their religious faith, and thoroughly loyal to revealed religion. Words are the vehicle of truth. But the same truth may be conveyed with a variation of words. A message may be given to several persons to be delivered to several parties. Each delivers it in his own manner. But with all the differences of style and words, each gives the message truly. Yet the theory here maintained consistently admits a higher law in inspiration. God still holds his messenger in his own hand, and under such control as to secure a right expression of the truth. But this does not involve a mechanical determination of the words. And if there be an original necessity for a verbal inspiration in order to a right expression of divine truth, there must be a like necessity for such a measure of it in all translation and reading of the Scriptures. Words do not mechanically determine their own meaning or the understanding of them in the mind of either translator or reader. But clearly there is no such dominating agency of the Holy Spirit. Or, if there ever be such, it is not the common law. And we get all requisite inspiration in a divine agency, acting not upon the mind as a purely passive instrument, but in it as in the use of its own faculties. The truth so given is divine truth, and of the highest possible authority.

Under the second heading, the author treats the questions concerning the existence and notion of God. Here he enters more directly the sphere of natural theology. The discussion, as in other parts, is brief, but in the method of a well-wrought analysis and generalization. "The being of a God is at once an innate idea and a demonstrable truth."

Such are the ground-facts of the author's theism. In alleging the idea of a God to be innate he clearly accepts the higher intuitional philosophy of the best metaphysical thinkers. And this is the common ground of the highest, best theism.

Of course it is not meant that this idea, as innate, has a necessary active form as a conviction of truth in every human mind. It is very doubtful if such is the fact. What is meant is, that under proper conditions of mental and moral development, the idea of a God springs up spontaneously from the very constitution of the mind. Hence, even if there be heathen in so low a state as to be void of this idea, it is a fact in no contradiction to the truth alleged—not any more than ignorance of the same heathen of the equivalence of two and three to five disproves its intuitional character. And as men may by prejudice or skeptical speculation so overrule their own mental powers as to deny the most certain cognitions, so, in like manner, they may eliminate the idea of God as aconviction of truth. But this does not disprove the fact that naturally it is a spontaneous product of the mind. Hence, the universality, not absolute but practical universality, of the idea. Its deep perversions, so widely revealed in human history, arise from the prejudice and corruption of men, as explained by St. Paul in Romans i, 21–23. But with all this perversion the deeper study of ethnic religions finds almost every-where an underlying theism previously unknown or denied.

In the statement of the author the being of a God is not only an innate idea, but also a demonstrable truth. Demonstrable can here be used only in a popular or qualified sense. Such a truth is not, in the stricter terminology of logic, a demonstrable one. As an innate idea or an intuition of the reason, it has its certainty in itself. But as maintained by the logical reason, the evidences alleged are not strictly of a demonstrative character. This fact, however, rather concerns their logical quality than their conclusiveness. And thus we get the true and the full ground of Theism within the sphere of natural theology. The being of a God is a truth addressing itself to the intuitive reason, and also a truth provable by the logical reason. Nor is there any reason to surrender the argumentation so long familiar to natural theology. Vigorous and persistent efforts have been made to discredit it, to break down its logical validity, and to wrest it from the service of our theistic faith; but it still firmly holds its place, and will continue so to hold it.

There is little room for originality in the method of this

argument, or in the classification of the evidences with which it proceeds. The argument is mainly, if not wholly, inductive, or *à posteriori.* The author properly makes little account of the argument ontological, or *à priori.* Even admitting its logical validity, it is too abstruse for any common service to Theism. And most who use it carry it over into the inductive method before reaching their conclusion. But the arguments usually designated as the cosmological, the teleological, and the moral, are thoroughly valid in the *à posteriori* method, and most conclusive in the logical result.

The subject discussed under the fourth general heading is Sin. It is treated in four divisions: origin of sin in the universe and on earth; nature of sin; sin and redemption; original sin. We have no particular occasion to review any part of this discussion unless it be the fourth—original sin. It is, however, but just to say that the whole discussion is conducted with great carefulness and marked ability. It is very compact, and contains a great deal for the space occupied.

The question of original sin is one of very broad theological relations. This is clear enough to any one comprehending the subject, or familiar with the history of doctrinal theology. Nor has it usually received that thorough analysis and discriminative statement which its importance requires, and which is essential to its scientific treatment. The term original sin, though long in the use of theology, is objectionable, specially on account of its ambiguity and diversity of application in dogmatic use. Though freely admitted into Arminian theology, yet in the synthesis of facts which it usually symbolizes it more properly belongs to Calvinistic theology. But here it is indifferently used for several doctrines as a whole, or for any one of them, and often without any discriminative application. This tends to confusion; and the term is more confusing and misleading when so used by us, or even when used at all, except in the most definitive sense. Nor should it be any offense to say that our leading writers have not wholly escaped the fault of the Calvinistic. If Dr. Pope cannot be fully excepted, yet he is certainly one of the most careful in his discriminations.

Let us turn from the symbol to the subject which it represents. As above stated, the formula original sin, as used in

theology, represents several facts or doctrines. Analyzing it in the light of its doctrinal history in Calvinism, we find these facts: 1. The depravity of human nature; 2. The guilt of the race from a participation in the sin of Adam as the ground of the just infliction of depravity as a punishment; 3. The intrinsic sinfulness of our native depravity, or that it is strictly of the nature of sin, having the desert of damnation. These leading facts, so often blended and treated as a whole, require separation, and to be treated severally. Only thus can we hold our own doctrine of sin in proper discrimination from that of Calvinism. For there is a difference between the two, especially as the latter is taken in the full sense of its usual formula. And unless we properly maintain that distinction we shall find ourselves embarrassed at other points of difference between the two systems.

In another analysis the several facts involved in the whole question of original sin are: 1. The depravity of human nature; 2. The origin of depravity in the sin of Adam; 3. The law of its derivation; 4. The question of its punitive demerit. These are really four distinct questions; and however intimately related, yet the intrinsic character of each is independent of any such relation.

The depravity of human nature. The author fully maintains this truth, and according to the best standards of Wesleyan Arminianism. As a truth clearly revealed in Scripture, broadly recorded in human history, deeply realized in human experience, and thoroughly underlying the whole economy of grace, it stands as a truth firmly established. No Pelagian dialectics can set its proofs aside. In its subjective form it lies below all experience, and is the state of a nature rather than a nature itself, and the state not of any particular faculty, but of the moral nature broadly. As realized in human experience and revealed in human history, it is readily and properly characterized in its tendency or inclination to evil. And this is in full accord with the most orthodox symbols, and also with the common utterance of divines.

Now this depravity, existing as a fact, is not determined or affected in its specific quality by any question respecting its origin. Whether derived from Adam or not; or whether, if from him and his sin, by a law of retributive justice on the

ground of a guilty participation in his sin, or by a law of genetic transmission, it is precisely the same in itself. A valid doctrine of depravity, therefore, and as valid and thorough in all that pertains to itself as any that Calvinism maintains, is not at all dependent upon the high assumption of Calvinism respecting the participation of the race in the sin of Adam, and the retributive character of depravity as the universal punishment of a universal sin.

The origin of depravity in Adam and in his sin is clearly the doctrine of Scripture. It is traced back to him, and, in a profound sense, to his sin and fall. Such is the scriptural account of the origin of depravity; and as a universal evil, such is the only rational account. But this fact of its origin does not of itself determine the law of its transmission. Especially does it not determine the transmission to be by a law of retributive justice in the universal punishment of a universal guilt.

This brings us to the third question in the broader subject of original sin: What is the law of the derivation of depravity? This question has a broad place in the polemics of theology. There are two leading answers: one, the law of retributive justice; the other, the law of genetic transmission.

The former is pre-eminently the answer of Calvinism. The race is held to be guilty, not only in depravity, and because of it, but also before it, and as the just ground of it. Hence, depravity is distinctly declared to be a punishment. No other view, it is maintained, can accord with the divine character. But if inflicted as a punishment, the subjects of it must have been previously guilty as in desert of such penal infliction. So far all are agreed.

Whence this guilt upon all the race? From a participation in the sin of Adam. So Calvinists are mainly agreed to answer. What is the ground of this participation? In the answer to this question they are wide apart. Mainly they form two schools: one maintaining this participation on the ground of a real oneness with Adam; the other, on the ground of a representative oneness with him. According to the former, especially in its higher realism, the very sinful act of Adam is the sinful act of every individual of the race. According to the latter, the guilt of the act is imputed to each as represented by him. It is the error and confusion of Calvinistic theology

that this participation in the sin of Adam is often based upon both grounds. This is utterly unscientific. The two grounds are different and opposite, and reciprocally exclusive. If one is guilty of Adam's sin because of any natural relation to him as progenitor or any real oneness with him, then is he not guilty by imputation on the ground of a representative oneness, for this would make him doubly guilty. And reversely the same consequence follows.

Dr. Pope seems really to maintain the guilt of the race on account of the sin of Adam, though not so formally explaining the ground of this guilt, nor so distinctly asserting the penal character of depravity. And he is careful to guard his doctrine against the higher assumptions and implications of Calvinism.

> The effect of the fall upon the posterity of Adam is described in Scripture as the universal diffusion of death as a condemnation, and of a bias of human nature toward evil. The scriptural doctrine finds its expression in the theological term original sin: the hereditary sin and hereditary sinfulness of mankind derived from Adam, its natural head and representative, but derived from him as he was under a constitution of redeeming grace and in connection with the second Adam, the spiritual head of mankind.—P. 221.

This passage may suffice for the author's views, though others might be added. It contains nearly all the questions of original sin, yet makes special the one we are here considering. And it seems clearly to set forth a guilty participation of the race in the sin of Adam. Thus the effect of the fall is the universal diffusion of death as a condemnation; that is, as a universal penalty upon a race accounted universally guilty. And the formula original sin, accepted as expressing the doctrine of Scripture, he explains as meaning "the hereditary sin and hereditary sinfulness of mankind derived from Adam."

The two terms, "hereditary sin" and "hereditary sinfulness," are clearly discriminated, the latter signifying the sinful depravity in which we are born, and the former, called elsewhere "hereditary guilt," a sin which precedes and conditions the penal infliction of this sinful depravity. This primary sin is alleged to be "derived from Adam as natural head and representative." But here we have the two grounds of this universal hereditary guilt, involving the same unscientific account

of it noticed before. Yet the representative headship has special prominence with Dr. Pope, as with our authors generally. By divine appointment Adam was constituted the representative of all the race in the primitive probation, and involved all in the penal consequences of his sin. Hence, the state of the race is held to be justly a state of death, and death, as elsewhere explained, in its threefold form as physical, spiritual, eternal. But this is maintained of the race only in its relation to the first Adam, and as wholly apart from the second Adam. In these views Dr. Pope is in, at least, seeming accord with some of our leading theological writers, though we think it would be easy to show that both he and they are out of logical accord with themselves.

It must be apparent to any scientific theologian that the doctrine of hereditary guilt as the ground of a penally inflicted depravity at least seemingly clashes with cardinal doctrines of Arminianism, and the very doctrines which differentiate it from Calvinism. Nor do we forget that this is held to be only a part of the whole case; that there is a second Adam under the economy of whose redemption we are all born. So Dr. Pope and others in accord with him hold. Every one of us denies that any soul is or could be doomed to perdition for the sin ot Adam. Indeed, no Arminian can admit this. But thus it is proposed, through an incoming economy of redemption, to save our theodicy. Do we really save it? Or is such a saving requisite? For if God can so impute the sin of Adam to any one of the race as to constitute in him a desert of the penalty of death in its threefold form, as physical, spiritual, eternal, there can be no injustice in its infliction. And while the economy of redemption may give us a view of the divine love which otherwise we should not have, theodicy needs no such vindication. The race might have been propagated in its sole relation to the first Adam under the law of sin and death, and whether dying in adult age or in infancy, under the inevitable doom of endless perdition, and however it might affect our views of the divine goodness, the divine justice would stand clear of all impeachment.

There are many other difficulties of this doctrine which we do not pause even to suggest. But in view of what has been said, it should be no offense to suggest a probability that the doc-

trine itself has been stated too strongly. Besides, we thus leave Calvinism in full possession of sufficient ground for its peculiar doctrines of sovereign election and limited atonement. For God wrongs no man by delivering him over to his just desert. And while in such an election and redemption he would show special favor to some, the others would not be wronged. But neither truth nor Scripture requires any such concession. Nor is the doctrine at all requisite, as we have before seen, to the most valid and thorough doctrine of human depravity. This is the same in itself, whatever the law of its derivation. And, indeed, when we get all the qualifications and limitations by Dr. Pope and others in accord with him, we have really no doctrine of this hereditary guilt left. The imputation of Adam's sin is virtually denied. It is not really admitted that we ever become guilty of his sin. The sum of the teaching is, that we suffer the penal consequences of his sin—penal to him, but consequences of his sin and punishment to us by virtue of our relation to him. This does not deny that the result to us is in the order and provision of the divine law, but that it is to us as accounted guilty of Adam's sin. Such, as we understand it, is the whole truth as explained by Mr. Watson in his "Institutes," (II, 53, 54.) in an illustration taken from Dr. Watts. This we fully accept. It is a doctrine in full accord with the general course of Providence; and it neither clashes with cardinal doctrines of Wesleyan Arminianism, nor yields any ground to the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism.

Is depravity sin proper? This is the final question. And it is not one the answer to which is determined by any theory respecting the origin of depravity or the law of its derivation, unless it be that the maintenance of its strictly penal character denies its strictly sinful character. Surely it would require the sharpest dialectics to prove that any thing strictly a punishment can have in itself the desert of punishment. But let the question stand in full discrimination. The depravity of the race is one questiont; the law of the derivation of depravity is another. Whether depravity has in itself the demerit of sin proper is still another.

Dr. Pope, as all our authors, maintains a real difference between original and actual sin, and that the former does not constitute us guilty in the full and exact sense of the latter.

But this question solely concerns their sameness in point of legal quality or demerit. That in this, depravity is strictly of the nature of sin, Calvinism fully maintains. With this Dr. Pope seems quite in accord, unless we accept certain qualifications and limitations as to the contrary. In sketching the history of the doctrine of "original sin," he says that "Methodism accepts the Article of the English Church"—that is, the Ninth Article, which he quotes in full. He could scarcely have named a stronger statement of the deep demerit of depravity considered simply as a native moral state and before all and any actual sin. It is strong enough for Augustine, or Calvin, or the Synod of Dort. And we must except to the part bearing directly on this question. Dr. Pope may speak for himself and for his own Church if so it be, but he may not speak for the Methodist Episcopal Church. We have the same article, but only in part, and with the omission of every phrase and word which expresses this doctrine. So it has stood in our Discipline since 1792. Why this elimination if such is the doctrine of our Church? [*]

But here we have in Dr. Pope, as in our other theological writers, such limitations and qualifications as in regard to the imputation of Adam's sin. And it is denied that any soul is or can be delivered over to perdition except for actual

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[*] We here give so much of the original article as concerns this question, and italicize the words omitted from our own article, that the significance of the change may be the more clearly seen: Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but is the *fault and* corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil; *and, therefore, in every person born into the world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.*

The omission last noted was made by Mr. Wesley as he prepared the articles and sent them over by Bishop Coke for the American Methodists, then to be organized into a Church; the first noted was made by the Christmas Conference so organizing the Church. And this article, with the others, was not passively accepted from Mr. Wesley by the General Conference, but formally adopted by it. Since my paper was written I have read a paper by Dr. Bledsoe, in his "Southern Review," fully discussing the doctrinal significance of the change which I have noted in this article of our faith. He especially maintains that Mr. Wesley, in his later life, modified his earlier views on original sin. This modification, however, did not touch the question or truth of our native depravity in any element or fact essentially belonging to it, but only the separate and distinctively Calvinistic question of our intrinsic desert of "God's wrath and damnation," solely on account of that native depravity.

sin. But according to this Ninth Article, this may justly be done. Yea, the infant, with its yet undeveloped congenital depravity, may be so doomed in the just and penal wrath of God. No Arminian can consistently admit such a possibility even on the footing of divine justice. But this implies no question or doubt respecting the native depravity of the race. It is still a truth, and with all its characteristic facts. It is a state of moral alienation from God, a dominating inclination to evil and an inability to good, intrinsically involving us in moral ruin and misery, and out of all which there is no deliverance except through the economy of redemption.

Under the fifth general heading, Mediatorial Ministry, the author discusses the atonement. On the fact of an atonement he is thoroughly true to the Scriptures. The mediation of Christ, wrought out in his incarnation, sufferings, death, and intercession, is the true and sole ground of a sinner's forgiveness and salvation. This is the truth of the Scriptures and stands firmly, and will ever so stand against all the exegesis and dialectics of a multiform Socinianism. But so far we have only the fact of an atonement. When we further inquire into the necessity for the mediation of Christ, and how it meets that necessity and avails to forgiveness and salvation, our questions lead on to a theory or doctrine of the atonement. Here it is that divines equally evangelical divide. We find a summation of the author's views in the passage following:—

> The errors of historical theology have all sprung from failure to connect the three leading ideas: the atonement in God as a necessity in the Divine attributes; the reconciliation on earth, as vindicating to the universe the rectoral justice of God; and the exhibition of the redemption to man, as moving upon his conscience, will, and heart. Here unite what are sometimes called the SUBSTITUTIONAL, the GOVERNMENTAL, and the MORAL INFLUENCE theories.—P. 412.

We have here three elements in the one atonement—a blending of three theories in the one doctrine. If the synthesis is correct, each element should be a part of the atonement, and the three should be in exact scientific accord.

But the third element, that of moral influence, does not strictly belong to the atonement. Instead of being the whole doctrine, as Socinianism maintains, it is really no part of it.

It is no part of the provisional ground of forgiveness as in relation to God, and has its sole function in its relation to a purely conditional fact in us as recipients of saving grace. Hence this moral influence is no part of the atonement proper, but arises from it as a manifestation of the character of God. And the atonement itself is none the less complete though its moral influence be persistently and finally resisted. And, according to the author's own classification of facts, it belongs rather to the administration of redemption than to redemption itself.

The other two terms should, in the author's use of them, designate two distinct and yet agreeing elements of the atonement, and so agreeing as to constitute the one doctrine. In theological terminology satisfaction is a more distinctive term than substitution, yet neither fully discriminates a theory from the governmental theory, because this, in a proper exposition and statement of it, fully admits both substitution and satisfaction. Hence, we must find the fundamental principles of these two theories of atonement in their deeper distinction in order to determine the question of their scientific accordance in the one doctrine.

Substitution or, more properly, satisfaction, as a term expressive of a theory of atonement, is the satisfaction of a purely retributive divine justice—a justice that in itself and for its own sake, and irrespective of all the interests of public justice, must have penal satisfaction. Just penalty is absolutely irremissible. This is the determining principle of the theory. Hence, the only releasement for an actual sinner is in an equal or equivalent punishment of a substitute. And this same principle determines the substitutional sufferings of Christ to have been in the mode of a substitutional punishment.

This is the Anselmic atonement, and largely the Calvinistic doctrine. And other doctrines of Calvinism are in full scientific accord with it. Special election, limited atonement, and a sovereignly achieved salvation of all the redeemed, belong to it and it to them. And historically these doctrines go together as logically they belong together.

The governmental theory has its essential distinction from this theory, and is out of scientific accord with it. But we here speak of this theory, not so much in its usual statement,

as in such statement as it will truthfully admit and as its full truth requires.

It equally admits the intrinsic demerit of sin and a retributive divine justice; but it denies the absolute necessity of punishment for the satisfaction of a purely retributive divine justice. It denies the possibility of such satisfaction by substitutional punishment. While it holds the demerit of sin to be the ground of punishment, it holds the end of punishment to be the interest of government. It, therefore, holds the remissibility of penalty on the ground of such provision, but only on such as will equally secure the interests of the government as its actual infliction. Such is the rectoral atonement. And it follows that while the atoning sufferings of Christ are substitutional, they are not penally so; that while they so far take the place of penalty that it may be remitted in entire consistency with the function of divine justice in the interests of government, they do not take its place as the equivalent punishment of sin.

This theory also holds to a satisfaction of divine justice, but a satisfaction in accord with itself. It denies the possibility of a satisfaction of divine justice in its sole regard to the demerit of sin by substitutional punishment. Unless sin in its intrinsic demerit can be put upon the substitute it cannot be punished in him. But who now so bold as to maintain such a possible transference of sin? Dr. Pope, we are sure, is very far from it. But divine justice finds satisfaction in the infliction of penalty upon sin in the interests of moral government. So it finds satisfaction in the substitutional sufferings of Christ as equally securing these same interests while the penalty of sin is remitted.

And this theory grounds the atonement in the profoundest necessity. In its objective relation this necessity arises out of the interests of moral government; in its divine relation it is grounded in the very nature of God. As he is God, holy, just, and good, he cannot disregard the interests of his moral government. Penalty is the means of their conservation. Penalty, therefore, he must inflict, or find some substitutional provision which will equally conserve them, while penalty is remitted. Such provision we have in the substitutional sufferings of Christ. Only these are sufficient. Hence this theory responds

in the sense of the profoundest necessity of atonement to the great question of Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo?*

This is really the Arminian or, more properly, the Grotian atonement. And we are a little surprised to find Dr. Pope conceding (p. 412) that it has somewhat the character of acceptilation—a thing with which Calvinism charges it as a most serious objection. It is utterly excluded by the deepest logic of the theory. Yet it is but fair to say that some unguarded and illogical statements of it give some coloring to the concession, and even to the objection. And we allege, and with space could make good the allegation, that the *acceptilatio* of Duns Scotus has far more affinity for the Anselmic atonement than for the Grotian.

And these two theories cannot be scientifically wrought into the one doctrine of atonement. Hence, so far as Dr. Pope assumes this, we are out of accord with him. But really he does not accept the theory of satisfaction. While some of his expressions seem to admit its deeper principles, others exclude them. And in his treatment of that part of soteriology which follows atonement, and which he very judiciously formulates as the administration of redemption, (head VI,) his principles, as those of every Arminian, exclude the theory of satisfaction in the high Calvinistic sense of it, and require the principles which really constitute the rectoral atonement.

We must not extend this paper, hence we pass the two remaining divisions of this work with their high commendation to students of theology. And so we commend the whole work. We wish that it could be accessible to the theological reader at a lower price.

Art. II.—PRESIDENT GRANT'S INDIAN POLICY.

Those persons who read the metropolitan newspapers are aware that there has been for some years a very tenacious movement in favor of a reform in the civil service of the United States. But, in the meantime, one branch of that service has been radically reformed, not only without much aid from the newspapers foremost in this movement, but apparently without their knowledge; while their general course would seem

to imply that they were laboring in the interest of the discarded corruptions and the superseded officers.

We refer to the Indian Service, which has for a century been a nest of corruption, peculation, and fraud. The Government has had a policy in regard to the red man which has not been wanting in good will or generous purpose; but it has, nevertheless, been a perpetual failure. It is generally supposed that the Indians who inhabited our vast territory when we took possession numbered about three millions of souls. If so they have dwindled, under our policy, to less than one tenth that number, and those that remain are not greatly improved by our contact. This has arisen partly from the intrinsic difficulties of the case, and partly from careless or mistaken administration. Hence the benefactions of the Government, like the apples of Sodom, have too often turned to ashes on the lips of its beneficiaries, and the good which it desired to do has been wasted or lost.

President Grant in his first message tells us that, "from the foundation of the Government the management of the original inhabitants, the Indians, has been a subject of embarrassment and expense, and has been attended with continuous robberies, murders, and wars." He might have added that a hundred years of experience had not taught us how to tame these wild barbarians, or to put an end to their "robberies, murders, and wars," without also putting an end to the Indians.

They existed in roving bands which hung on the borders of civilization, or had their lodges beyond in the lonely wastes of the continent. Hence, whoever stood between them and the Government, and became the agent in administering the governmental bounties, was largely removed from the watchful eye of supervision; and as the Indians were ignorant and unsuspicious, it is not very wonderful tha tmoney should have been appropriated for annuities that were never paid, for school-houses that were never built, for schools that were never maintained, and for agricultural implements that were never used.

The evil grew with the returning years; and while there were agents who honestly executed the trusts of the Government, and religious ministers who labored faithfully and successfully to redeem the wild man from his heathenism, it still remains

true that the service was, in the main, a sink of corruption. The Indians came under the influence of sharp, selfish men, who catered to their weaknesses, took advantage of their ignorance, fed them with fire-waters, abused their confidence, and often provoked their passions. Ignorant, jealous of their rights, and quick to resent an injury, real or imaginary, they often took summary vengeance with the tomahawk and scalping-knife, and were the terror of those settlers that were thrust out in front of the wave of advancing population; and their fierce and savage methods of revenge provoked those long and expensive wars which have been so prominent in our history, and such an effectual check on Indian civilization.

In his report for 1876 the commissioner says:—

> From the first settlement of the country by white men the Indians have been constantly driven westward from the Atlantic. A zigzag, ever-varying line, extending from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and always moving slowly west, has been known as the *frontier* or *border*. Along this border has been an almost incessant struggle—the Indians to retain and the whites to get possession—the war being broken by periods of temporary peace, which usually followed treaties whereby the Indians agreed to surrender large tracts of their lands. The peace would continue until the lands were occupied by whites, when the pressure of immigration would again break over the border, and the Indian, by force or treaty, would be compelled to surrender another portion of his cherished hunting grounds.—P. 6.

It was this unpromising state of the "Indian question" which the late President had to confront when, on the 4th of March, 1869, he entered on the administration of his great office, and, among other things, became responsible for the policy of his Government in the management of the Indians. It so happened that both houses of Congress were in session; and on the 10th of April, thirty-seven days after he took his official oath, he signed an act, passed at his suggestion, appropriating two millions of dollars, or so much thereof as was necessary, "to enable the President to maintain peace among the various tribes of Indians, promote civilization, bring them when practicable on reservations, relieve their necessities, and encourage efforts at self-support."

To aid in carrying out these objects, the act further provided that he should at his discretion "organize a Board of Commis-

sioners, to consist of not more than ten persons to be selected by him from men eminent for their intelligence and philanthropy, to serve without pecuniary compensation, who may, under his direction, exercise joint control, with the Secretary of the Interior, over the disbursements of the appropriations made by this act."

The proposed Board was immediately organized, and, with some changes from year to year, has existed ever since. It now consists of nine persons, no one of whom has sufficient political prominence to be noted in Lanman's "Biographical Annals."[*] It holds quarterly meetings, and, in the meantime, operates through two important committees, by means of which it exerts a supervisory control over all the affairs of the Indians, although its function is mainly advisory.

The object of the President was to convert the Indian service into a field for missionary enterprise, and to attract toward it in larger measure the interest of the prominent religious organizations. But to do this effectually he must necessarily yield up his control over the fat places so eagerly sought after by serviceable politicians, and separate the service entirely from all connection with party politics. This was a severity of civil service reform not in the programme of its special advocates, but pursued through the last eight years with singular steadiness, and largely against the opposition of those persons and newspapers whose declared position might be supposed to make them its enthusiastic advocates.

How entirely the important places connected with this service are severed from political considerations may be inferred from the fact that all the Indian agents, aggregating about three quarters of a hundred, together with most of the dependent positions, have been appointed through the whole of these eight years on the nominations of the different Churches. This has had the double effect of securing the interest of the Churches in the improvement of the Indians, and of concen-

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[*] When President Grant went out of office in March the Board was made up as follows:—General Clinton B. Fisk, Methodist, New York city, Chairman; William Stickney, Baptist, Washington, D. C., Secretary; A. C. Barstow, Congregationalist, Providence, R. I.; William Bingham, Presbyterian, Cleveland, Ohio; David H. Jerome, Episcopal, Saginaw, Mich.; John D. Lang, Quaker, Vassalborough, Maine; E. M. Kingsley, Presbyterian, New York city; B. Rush Roberts, Quaker, Sandy Springs, Md.; and H. C. Lyon, Methodist, New York city.

trating at the agencies those moral influences through which alone they can rise to higher conditions.*

The co-operation of the Churches is an advantage that can hardly be overestimated. Besides securing better officers and better influences, it brings to the aid of the Government the sympathies and services of the best citizens of the nation, and enlists a kind of aid which no government can supply and no government can do without. If you go no further than their

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* The Indian Agencies in charge of the different religious bodies are as follows:—

Friends, Hicksite: Great Nemaha, Omaha, Winnebago, Otoe, and Santee, Nebraska; and Pawnee, Indian Territory; medium of communication and action, B. Rush Roberts, Sandy Springs, Maryland.

Friends, Orthodox: Pottawatomie and Kickapoo, Kansas; Quapaw, Osage, Sac and Fox, Wichita, Kiowa and Comanche, and Cheyenne and Arrapahoe, Indian Territory; Dr. James E. Rhoades, Germantown, Philadelphia.

Methodist: Hoopa Valley, Round Valley, and Tulle River, California; Yakama, Neah Bay, and Quinaeilt, Washington Territory; Klamath and Siletz, Oregon; Blackfeet, Crow, and Fort Peck, Montana; Fort Hall and Lemhi, Idaho; and Mackinac, Michigan; Rev. Dr. J. M. Reid, Secretary Missionary Society Methodist Episcopal Church, 805 Broadway, New York city.

Catholic: Tulalip and Colville, Washington Territory; Grand Ronde, Umatilla, Oregon; Flathead, Montana; Standing Rock and Devil's Lake, Dakota; General Charles Ewing, Catholic Commissioner, Roman Catholic Church, Washington, D. C.

Baptist: Union, Indian Territory; Nevada, Nevada; Rev. Joseph F. Shoards, Secretary American Baptist Home Missionary Society, 150 Nassau-street, New York city.

Presbyterian: Albiquiu, Navajo, Mescalero-Apache, Southern Apache, Pueblo, New Mexico; Nez Perce, Idaho; Uintah Valley, Utah; Rev. Dr. J. C. Lowrie, Secretary Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church.

Congregational: Green Bay, La Pointe, Wisconsin; Red Lake, Minnesota; Sisseton, Fort Berthold, Dakota; and S'Kokomish, Washington Territory; Rev. Dr. M. E. Striebe, Secretary American Missionary Association, 56 Reade-street, New York city.

Reformed: Colorado River, Pima and Maricopa, San Carlos, Arizona; Rev. J. M. Ferris, Secretary Board of Missions Reformed Church, 34 Vesey-street, New York city.

Protestant Episcopal: White Earth, Minnesota; Ponca, Crow Creek, Lower Brule, Cheyenne River, Yankton, Spotted Tail, Red Cloud, Dakota; Shoshone, Wyoming; Rev. Robert C. Rogers, Indian Commissioner, Protestant Episcopal Church, 30 Bible House, New York city.

Unitarian: Los Pinos and White River, Colorado; Rev. Rush R. Shipper, Secretary American Unitarian Association, 7 Tremont Place, Boston.

Free Will Baptist: Leech Lake, Minnesota; Rev. A. H. Chase, Secretary Free Will Baptist Home Missionary Association, Hillsdale, Michigan.

United Presbyterian: Warm Spring, Oregon; Rev. Dr. John G. Brown, Secretary Home Mission Board, United Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Christian Union: Malheur, Oregon; Rev. J. S. Rowland, Salem, Oregon.

material condition, there are times when government stores and government funds cannot be had, and a pinch must bring disaster, perhaps destruction. If, under such circumstances, a benevolent Church has an interest in the result, and is present by its agents to supply just the want that is most pressing, we may infer what the advantage would be. But this point may be more clearly shown by quoting part of a letter, written with another object, by Bishop Whipple, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, whose interest in the civilization of the Indian is generally known. Dating at Faribault, September 21, 1875, he says:—

> In June I received a letter from Mr. Gilfillan, (missionary,) saying that there was no money to employ the blacksmiths and carpenters after July first. They are very superior and faithful men, and have received nine hundred dollars each year out of the utility fund; for no such men would live here, in the Indian country, on the pittance the Government offers. I felt that it was certain and sure ruin to take them away at a time when the Indians were so earnestly trying to help themselves.' I wrote to Mr. Gilfillan to hire them. I told him to have them charge the white men and mixed bloods fair prices for their work, but to do all work for the Indians without cost; and whatever it required (which would be half the cost) I would pay. Major Stowe (the agent) had a plan to put a floor in the large school building, and thus provide a place for thirty boys to sleep, and open a boarding school for them; but he had no money to provide bedding. I assumed this. There was not enough in fund to do all the plowing needed, and I pledged the means for it. Since the day I first met this poor people I have never seen them in want that I did not try to help them, and at times I have borrowed money to do so.—*Report of Board of Indian Commissioners*, p. 48.

This shows very clearly how necessary active benevolence is to the accomplishment of Indian advancement, and how important it is to have the hearty co-operation of the Churches. At first, the appointment of the Indian Commissioner was not included among the prerogatives of religious bodies. The President conceived the idea that an Indian, in that important office, would have a good influence in securing the confidence of the tribes, and he accordingly commissioned Eli S. Parker, an educated gentleman of Indian blood, who had served with credit on his staff during the war. He remained in office over two years, but failed to meet the expectations of the President or of the public, and was removed. His successor, Francis A.

Walker, was a gentleman of culture and ability, but he resigned to accept a professorship in Yale College. Edward P. Smith, who was appointed to the vacancy early in 1873, was designated by the religious bodies, and was fitted for his place by a long train of adapting experiences. He was for several years a student at Dartmouth, but graduated at Yale. He then went through a course of theology at Andover, and was for several years pastor of a Church in Massachusetts. On the breaking out of the war he entered into the service of the Christian Commission, was field agent for the army of the West, and secretary of the Commission. When the Commission disbanded he entered into the service of the American Missionary Society, and employed his energies in establishing schools for freedmen, going thence into the Indian service as agent of the Chippewas in Minnesota. From this work he was called, without his solicitation or previous knowledge, to the more important post of Commissioner. A man of large capacity, of varied experience, of a heart swelling with benevolence toward all mankind, he was well furnished for his important duties, and his reports are luminous with practical suggestions and encouraging incidents pointing to the elevation of the Indian, and showing how completely his mind was absorbed in the work which he had in hand. But the storm which was raised in regard to the proceedings at the Red Cloud Agency caused his withdrawal from the service, when he was immediately chosen president of Howard University, and then sent on a benevolent mission to Africa, where he died. He had, however, laid foundations which were to remain, and on which others will successfully build.

Life at an Indian agency or in an Indian lodge may have in it a spice of adventure and romance which looks attractive at a distance; but in its realities, as it presents itself to a teacher or missionary, without associates, without accustomed comforts, without due appreciation, it is little else than a scene of hardships, trials, and sacrifices. At least such are our impressions after reading a pleasant book on frontier life among the Indians, by Thomas C. Battey.

Mr. Battey is a Quaker who bends his ear to catch the whisperings of the Spirit, and has the courage of obedience. He was moved to leave his wife and children and pleasant

home in Kansas, and go out under the wing of one of the Quaker agencies to teach an Indian school. The school was for the Caddoes, under the Wichita Agency, in the south-west portion of the Indian Territory bordering on Texas. He did not understand the language of the Caddoes, and consequently could not converse with his pupils; but he appears to have been very successful both as a teacher and a promoter of Indian civilization; and it was a great misfortune to the Indians that his health could not bear the strain of so hard a life, and that, after three years of successful service, he was obliged to retire.

Mr. Battey, in speaking of the habits that prevail among the Indians, says:—

> Their tastes being in some respects obtuse, the flesh of which they partake is not objected to, even though it be too long since it was killed, or whether it was killed at all. Many a buffalo calf dying with its mother is served up as if it had been killed. They have no idea of being filthy, as who has? What if they did not wash their hands before mixing the bread or taking up the meat? meat is meat, and, therefore, clean. No matter if it has been carried thirty or fifty miles, swinging and flopping on the sides of a mule until covered with dust and sweat and hair; it needs no washing, or, at least, gets none before being put into the camp-kettle. If the hair, boiled into strings and served up with the beef, is unpalatable, it is quickly taken out of the mouth and thrown away. Hair is clean; dust is clean. If dirt is, as has been defined, matter out of place, there is none in an Indian camp; for what can be out of place where nothing has a place? As might be expected of a people who live by the chase, they are not very particular as to the kind of meat used. The buffalo, antelope, or deer, is preferred; but, if these cannot be obtained, a pony or mule, a dog or a wolf, supplies the deficiency.—P. 322.

This is the living of an Indian camp; but Mr. Battey's school was not in camp, but at the agency, where the food was served up with some regard to the usages of civilized life, where there are always some persons in the employ of the Government who speak English, and where he was not entirely separated from his accustomed pursuits and methods of living. The school had been in operation three weeks, with six pupils, only one of whom knew the letters of the alphabet. They had to come from the camp, four or five miles distant, and hence were obliged to remain at the agency through the week. They were fed by a Cherokee woman, who lived in the yard, and at night

"slept on the ground by the side of a log or fence, or any thing that would afford a windbreak."

Meantime winter was drawing near, (he arrived on the last day of October, 1871,) and the children had no other protection than the ordinary Indian blanket. It did not take Mr. Battey long to discover that if his school was to amount to any thing in the way of education he must extemporize some means of boarding his pupils, and this was accordingly done at once. The provisions were extremely rude, but he had the satisfaction of seeing all his available space occupied with pupils, and the average attendance of the last half of his term was 27—on the roll 38. At the conclusion of his term, after seven months of service, he reports as follows:—

> The ages of the scholars range from five to twenty. They are mostly from the Caddo and Delaware tribes, with a few Creeks. Nearly all have shown aptness and ability, and a considerable zeal in their studies. Two thirds of them now, at the close of the school, read fluently in books—using the first, second, and third readers—the remainder using charts. Twelve have made commendable progress in writing, their copy-books being models of care and neatness. Several show considerable talent and interest in drawing. In acquiring geography the scholars have shown remarkable aptness, having a general acquaintance with the maps of the world, North and South America and the United States. Also a knowledge of the races of men, and the remarkable animals inhabiting different parts of the earth.—P. 73.

In a subsequent chapter Mr. Battey refers to the progress made by this tribe as follows:—

> The Caddoes are rapidly improving. When I first became acquainted with them there were but two or three farms among them, and their houses were of the most miserable description, being close, dark, smoky, and filthy. Now (1873) they have about two thousand acres broken for crops; over one hundred good frontier houses, with windows of glass, doors, and chimneys, and some household furniture. The school is in a flourishing condition, having about sixty scholars.—P. 255.

Mr. Battey's remarkable success in crowding forward his pupils brought him into conspicuous notice with the visiting chiefs of other tribes, among whom was Kicking Bird, a leading chief of the Kiowas. This tribe was the wildest and most barbarous of all the Indians of the Indian Territory. During the summer, while Mr. Battey was closing his school and mak-

ing a brief visit to his home in Kansas, they were raiding, plundering, and murdering in Texas. Their murders during that summer numbered over forty, and their stock of ponies was probably increased by every murder. They excused these outrages on the plea that the Government had imprisoned their chiefs, Satanta and Big Tree, who had been seized and committed on account of their atrocities.* Kicking Bird was a prudent and able leader, who had not sanctioned these raids, and had lately shown a disposition "to walk in the white man's road." He seems to have had a strong admiration for *Thomis*, as Mr. Battey was called, and the Quaker teacher had equally strong movings toward Kicking Bird, with an inward premonition that the Spirit was calling him to go over to the help of these wild, murderous Kiowas.

The result was that when Mr. Battey returned from his summer visit to his family (1872) he was fully resolved to make his home in the Kiowa camp, and see what he could do toward opening a school and leading them toward "the white man's road." He accordingly stopped only a few days at the Wichita Agency; but the first thing that he did while there was to go, without warning, to the school-house which had been so long the scene of his labors, and to break in on his pupils while the school was in session. The scene he thus describes:—

> Though the scholars kept their seats, they could not resist the impulse to shout my name over and over again. The teacher rose up in astonishment, but seeing me all travel-soiled, as I was, he comprehended the cause of the uproar, and could not refrain from laughing. After shaking hands all around I retired to my former room to improve my appearance; but before this was

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* Satanta had been concerned in many gross outrages, and was captured in 1869, but afterward released. Two years later, while raiding at the head of a hundred Kiowas, he attacked a corn train in Texas, and murdered seven of the teamsters, one of whom, on account of his resistance, was roasted over a slow fire. He was so foolhardy as to boast of these achievements to General Sherman, who ordered his arrest, together with two other chiefs who had acted with him. These were Big Tree and Satank. They were all put in irons and sent under a strong guard to Texas to be tried for murder. But Satank made a violent attempt to escape. Having worked his hands free from his irons, he seized a knife and struck one of the guards in the leg, but was instantly shot down. Satanta and Big Tree were taken to Texas, where they had their trial, were convicted, and sentenced to be hung, but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life. They were subsequently pardoned, and restored to the tribe on assurance of future good conduct.

> more than half accomplished school broke for the day, and up stairs was the rush, and "Thomis" was the cry; filling the stairway, hall, and room, and I had much ado to induce them to leave me to myself.—P. 81.

During his stay at the agency Horseback, a rising chief of the Quahada Comanches, a wild and warlike tribe, brought in on two different occasions a number of captives for redemption. These captives are generally taken in some raid for plunder, and are held for servants, or to secure a price for their redemption. These, however, had not been captured by Horseback, but had been turned over to him from some other tribe, and their delivery was regarded as a friendly act. They were all boys, and the history of each was full of interest; but the following will be sufficient to show the extreme barbarity of these captures:—

> Temple Friend, though appearing to be a very intelligent boy, having been taken young, had forgotten the English language, and remembered only the scene of his capture. His mother he stated to have been killed while his father (whose name he remembered was John) and his sister were away from home. There seemed to be no clue by which this boy could be identified, and the whole household at the Agency were becoming much attached to him, when an old gray-headed man, L. S. Friend, a Methodist minister who had for many years acted as a missionary on the frontiers of Texas, arrived from Kansas, where he now resides, having seen a notice in the newspapers of the delivery of two unknown boys at the Agency, to see if he could recognize in one of them his long-lost grandson. He had spent much money, and had traveled over fifteen thousand miles in his unwearied search, and now his efforts were to be crowned with success. The old man gently put his arm around the boy and drew him toward him. The tears started into his eyes as he slowly uttered the words "Temple Friend." The boy started as if from sleep, looked at the old man, and having learned a few words of English, (at the Agency,) answered "Yes." The old man then pronounced the name of his sister, "Florence Friend." The boy with a look of unutterable amazement replied as before, "Yes!" We learned from the grandfather that he is thirteen years of age, was captured in Texas, and has been with the Indians five years. His mother, (stepmother,) though transfixed by an arrow which passed through both arms and breasts, is still alive to welcome her long-lost son. —P. 88.

Mr. Battey, according to the suggestions of the Spirit, went over among the Kiowas, and undertook, with the approval of Kicking Bird, to open a school. But a school in a moving

Indian camp, under a tent of buffalo skins, and with the thermometer thirty-four degrees below zero, is not a very promising enterprise. There were, however, other hinderances. Some evil-minded Caddoes came over and whispered around that Battey was "bad medicine," and had made many children sick. The Indians are exceedingly superstitious,* and a great alarm spread through the camp, resulting in a council, during which a couple of young men, armed with revolvers and bows and arrows, kept guard over Mr. Battey at his quarters. It ended favorably for him, however, but the school was doomed, and had to be given up. The intensity of the feeling against it may be inferred from the following incident. Mr. Battey says:—

> After the withdrawal of the chiefs and old people, several young men remaining in my tent, a middle-aged man came in with an uplifted ax, his face hideously painted with black lines expressive of intense anger, advanced toward me with a most horrid oath in broken English, and, suiting his action to his words, was about to strike me with the edge of his weapon. Putting on as bold a front as I could command, I stepped up to him, seized him by his uplifted arm, and forcibly put him out of my tent. I had no thought of fear until after closing the session for the forenoon, when, on thinking it over, I was somewhat unnerved.—P. 116.

Mr. Battey, finding that he was a good influence among these wild and fierce barbarians, determined to remain with them through the term for which he was employed. In his

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* The Indians are superstitious in proportion to their ignorance, and have their "medicine" for every thing. On one occasion, while Mr. Battey was with the Caddoes, a chief of the Wichitas was taken ill, and after a short sickness died. The woman who was called in to "make medicine" for the recovery of the sick man failed in her incantations, very much to the disgust of the chief's brother, who, without saying a word, went to her lodge with his gun in his hand, and deliberately shot her for having made bad "medicine."

On another occasion, after going among the Kiowas, Mr. Battey was in a tent with chiefs, and women, and children. The pipe on such occasions is used to excess, and, as the smoke filled the place and was particularly disagreeable to Mr. Battey, he determined to go outside and enjoy the luxury of a little fresh air. But there was a child lying on the ground, and he thoughtlessly made his exit by stepping over the child's body. The women instantly started to their feet and gave a scream as if something terrible had occurred; and he learned afterward that to step over a child was "bad medicine," and that the child was sure to die. He adds that the child in question was taken sick not long after, that there was no hope from the first of its recovery, and that it died.

report he narrates some of the causes which led to the failure of his school, and adds:—

> Being encouraged to remain with the tribe I have done so, moving with them as they moved. Gradually, as I could make myself understood, I would explain the advantages of living and dressing like the white people, giving up raiding, raising cattle and hogs instead of ponies, cultivating corn, and living in houses.—P. 192.

This was in the summer of 1873, and it is fair to infer that Mr. Battey's Quaker methods and kind words bore good fruit; for we find in turning to the report of the Agent, made in August, 1876, three years later, that these wild Indians were then arresting and punishing their young men for stealing horses; that a man who committed depredations on the stores of the Agency had been seized by the Indians, and delivered to the agent for punishment; that another who killed his wife in a tempest of anger was wearing a ball and chain as a criminal; that the Indians had sold nearly five thousand bushels of wheat at the Agency for one dollar per bushel; that they have some cattle, sheep, and hogs, and that their children go to school. Of the school the agent says:—

> Our difficulty was not in getting enough children, but in confining the number to the capacity of the house, so many more than we can accommodate being anxious to get in. The addition enables us to crowd in seventy-two children, thirty-nine boys and thirty-three girls. They learned as fast as white children, and kept up their interest through the entire session. The parents and friends of the children manifest a great interest in the school, and seldom a day passes that some of them were not there. On the last day a larger number were present, and seemed very proud of the success of their children.—P. 51.

These are the robbers and murderers of three years before. Is not this single case a demonstration of the wisdom and economy of the "policy of peace?" It is not only the result of work done, but of the good influences that cluster around the Agency. Our present Indian Commissioner says in his report for 1876: "The great want of the Indian service has always been thoroughly competent agents." The new mode of appointment is a decided improvement on the old, but it still fails in giving to the service men uniformly furnished for the work of the Agency, and hence it is that progress is much greater in some tribes than in others.

But this case is not an exceptional one. The whole Indian world, so to speak, is crying out for schools, for permanent homes, for houses and furniture, for cattle and sheep, for agricultural implements and instruction in farming, for lands in severalty, and some of them for American citizenship.

The Kiowas belong to the central superintendency, which has in its charge about sixteen thousand Indians: the Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Kaws, Osages, Quapaws, Peorias, Ottawas, Wyandots, Senecas, Sac and Foxes, Shawnees, Cheyennes, Wichitas, Kiowas, and Comanches. Their number remains about the same from year to year, and hence the changes that are taking place are not attributable to an increase of population. The comparison below is between 1868 and 1875, and shows at a glance what is going on:—

	1868.	**1875.**
Number of schools	4	15
Number of pupils	105	836
Number of Sabbath-schools	....	13
Acres cultivated by Indians	3,220	14,499
Corn raised by Indians (bushels)	31,700	320,500
Wheat " "	633	28,032
Oats " "	....	5,930
Potatoes " "	7,000	12,000
Hay " (tons)	750	4,996
Cattle owned by Indians	640	6,580
Hogs "	1,074	12,268
Houses owned and occupied by Indians	....	1,042

This Superintendency embraces some of the wildest tribes of the West, and its progress in letters, industry, and the arts of civilization is, therefore, the more wonderful. What is special cause of gratification is that so many of the roving tribes have consented to locate on reservations. This is always the first step in "the white man's road." Of the Indians in the Northern Superintendency, consisting of the Santee-Sioux, Winnebagoes, Omahas, Pawnees, Otoes, and Missouries and Iowas, and Sac and Foxes of Missouri, numbering about seven thousand souls, all are on reservations in Nebraska. They had in 1875 seven industrial schools with two hundred and fifty pupils, in which the boys and girls are taught the useful occupations, and fourteen day schools. Not quite half the children of the proper age are in school, many being prevented by their distance

from the school-building. Four of the tribes are self-supporting, raising enough from their farms to subsist them. In three of the tribes the Indians live in houses, eat with knives and forks, use dishes, sit on chairs, sleep on beds, and wear the clothes of civilized life.

Of the 266,000 Indians, shown by careful enumeration to have their residence within the bounds of the United States, (not including Alaska,) nearly all have largely progressed during the eight years under review, but some much more than others. Some idea of the general advancement may be gathered from the following comparison between 1868 and 1876. The figures are from official sources:—

	1868.	1876.
Houses	7,476	55,717
Schools	111	344
Teachers	134	437
Scholars	4,718	11,328
Acres of land cultivated	54,207	318,194
Wheat raised, (bushels,)	126,117	463,054
Corn " (")	467,363	2,229,463
Oats and Barley, (")	43,978	134,780
Vegetables, (")	236,296	278,844
Hay, (tons,)	13,215	16,216
Horses and Mules	43,960	310,043
Cattle	42,874	811,308
Swine	29,890	214,076
Sheep	2,683	447,295

As the Indians do not increase, these figures must be taken as showing a very wonderful change, which, if it should continue for a few years with the same rate of advancement, must effectually dispose of what is called "The Indian Question," by converting every Indian into a citizen. Of the houses mentioned above, 1,702 were built during the last year; of the 266,000 Indians 25,622, or about one in ten—taking men, women, and children together—are able to read, and nearly a thousand of these have learned within the last year. Of churches there are 177; and 54,207, or about one fifth of the whole, are Church members.

Eight years ago several bands of wild Chippewas and other Indians were gathered together in Minnesota on what is called the White Earth Reservation. They were put under the supervision of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and were as

"low and degraded," to use the words of the agent, "as it was possible for human beings to be." In November, 1875, the agent reports that "A stranger passing through the reservation would scarcely know, from the appearance of the houses and farms, or the dress of the people, that he was in an Indian country." The Indians number 1,427, and hold 170 distinct farms of from five to twenty acres. Two hundred families live in good houses of hewed logs. They raised, in 1875, 3,025 bushels of wheat, 2,629 bushels of corn, 1,340 bushels of oats, and cut 2,119 tons of hay. Six hundred of them, or nearly one half, are Church members.

The Sisseton Agency, in Dakotah, is in the charge of the Congregationalists, and the number of Indians is 1,807. In 1868 they were wild, wandering, marauding Sioux, with no schools, churches, or industries; now they occupy 248 houses, forty-one of which were built last year. Nine hundred and fifty, or more than one half, can read. They have four churches, with 392 members, and have raised $700 for the support of their minister, and $330 to forward missionary work in other tribes. Every able-bodied man who is the head of a family is located on a farm of a hundred and sixty acres, for which he holds a certificate of allotment.

The Yakoma Agency, in Washington Territory, is in the charge of the Methodists, and the agent, James H. Wilbur, is a minister of that denomination. The Indians number 4,100. Mr. Wilbur in his report a year ago says:—

> When I began with them there was not one acre of ground cultivated; they lived on roots and fish. Now they have ten thousand acres fenced, and, I think, four thousand under cultivation. Thirty thousand bushels of grain have been raised the past year, sufficient to subsist the nation. We issue nothing except to the sick and blind. All the land cultivated has been surveyed and is held in severalty. The Indians build permanent fences, good houses, and have their own horses, plows, wagons, tools, and implements. They have good church buildings, and the Church membership is about five hundred. The children that have been trained to mechanical pursuits are good workers in the different departments of business.—*Report to Board of Com'rs*, p. 137.

A little later, in September, 1876, Mr. Wilbur again writes:

> We have built eleven houses, worth at least $500 each—($5,500.) We have two white men and five Indians putting up

houses. They are neatly finished, and painted outside and inside. Many of them have comfortable furniture—chairs, beds, bedsteads, tables, table-ware, clocks, and cook-stoves. . . . It will be seen that, with the grain issued, the mills erected, lumber made, houses built, farms fenced, schools taught, an active Church membership of between five and six hundred, two educated native preachers, two good church edifices, and four hundred head of cattle, we have some show for setting up, ere long, an independent race.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1876, pp. 145, 146.

Mr. Wilbur's steam mill, shingle machine, and mill-house, costing about $13,000, were built without any appropriation from the Government. The money to purchase the machinery was chiefly obtained by grazing stock for cattle-owners outside of the reservation. The Indians worked with their teams, and contributed their labor, and in this way the important improvement progressed to completion.

If we turn to those tribes which have been surrounded by civilized communities, like the New York Indians, or to those which have been long under the training of Christian missionaries, like the tribes of the Union Agency in the Indian Territory, we shall find that the progress in civilization is, in some degree, proportionate to the operating influences. The five tribes under the care of the Union Agency were all removed, many years ago, from States bordering the Atlantic, and located on a large tract of land in the Indian Territory. They include the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. Each of these tribes has a constitutional government, modeled after the governments of the States, with an executive, a legislature, and a judiciary. The expenses of their governments are paid from their own funds, derived mainly from the sale of lands, the products of which are lodged in the Treasury of the United States in the form of bonds.

The Cherokees have a large and valuable property, and their public buildings consist of a capital, valued at $22,000; a male seminary, $75,000; a female seminary, $75,000; an orphan asylum, $70,000; an asylum for the blind, insane, deaf, and dumb, $7,000; a printing house, $5,000; and a jail, $7,000. Their number is about 17,000. They have mills, blacksmith shops, stores, and all the usual appendages of a civilized community. Their cattle number 42,000. They have a weekly newspaper, edited by an Indian, and published both

in Indian and in Cherokee. The agent, in his report for 1876, says:—

> Among them are men noted for their talents and learning. Their government is conducted with marked ability and dignity. Their schools stand as monuments to their progress in civilization. Only a few years ago they assembled in council under trees or in a rude log-house, with hewed logs for seats: now the legislature assembles in a spacious brick council-house, provided with committee rooms, a senate chamber, a hall of representatives, a library, and rooms for executive offices, which cost an outlay of $22,000.
>
> Their citizens occupy neat, hewed, double log-cabins, or frame, brick, or stone houses, according to means or taste, with grounds adorned by ornamental trees, shrubbery, and flowers, with nearly every usual improvement, including orchards of the choicest fruit. Their women are usually good housekeepers, and give great attention to spinning and weaving yarns, jeans, and linsey. The farmers raise most of their own wool and cotton, and it is not an unusual thing in a well-to-do farmer's house to see a sewing-machine and a piano.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1876, p. 61.

We cannot pursue these dry details any further, and shall not be greatly surprised if they seem to the reader as "old wives' fables," so different are they from what we might expect after reading in the daily papers such frequent reports of Indians capturing trains, Indians running off stock, and Indians murdering and scalping defenseless citizens. But it must be remembered that there are still a few bands, like that of Sitting Bull, made up of renegade Indians, who have rejected all civilizing influences, and assorted together to gratify their wild propensities for raiding and plunder. They are not connected with any agency, and are the declared enemies of the Government. Then the vast interior naturally affords great scope for marauders; and there are enterprising robbers among Indians as well as among the white races. It should also be remembered that the famous Mountain Meadow massacre was the work of white men disguised as Indians; and it would be very strange if there were not turbulent spirits hanging on the edges of civilization who assumed the role of the Indian while they committed deeds of robbery and murder. But these outrages grow less year by year, and Indian wars are evidently drawing to a close. The Indian Commissioner said two years ago that there could never be another great Indian war, and subsequent events have tended to confirm the accuracy of his

judgment. A small band of robbers, well armed and on fleet horses, may cause wide-spread alarm, and may give organized troops much trouble; but the conflicts which they invoke should hardly be dignified with the name of war.

The Indians are coming to understand that they are completely in the power of the Government, and that if they would escape destruction they must adopt the usages of civilization. On this subject the Commissioner says:—

> Except in the Indian Territory, and, perhaps, Dakota, the white population exceeds that of the Indian. Hence no new hunting grounds remain, and civilization or the entire destruction of the Indians is inevitable. If they cannot be taught, and taught very soon, to accept the necessities of their situation, and begin in earnest to provide for their own wants by labor in civilized pursuits, they are destined to speedy extinction.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1876, p. 6.

The remarkable results which have crowned the honest efforts of the last eight years point the way out of all the perplexities of "the Indian Question," including that of expenditure. It is now absolutely certain that the Indian can be allured from his wild ways and taught "to walk in the white man's road;" that he can be educated with facility; that he can be induced to change his mode of life; that his ambition to excel in the chase or in the battle is the same ambition which will make him a successful farmer, mechanic, or tradesman; and that by far the cheapest and most effective method with him is that which helps him to become an independent citizen.

Already has this idea fastened itself strongly on many of the Indians who are somewhat advanced in the arts of peace, and they are forsaking their tribal relations and settling down on farms like other industrious and thrifty citizens. In November, 1875, one of the Indian superintendents writes from Omaha that

> Agricultural and mechanical industry is rapidly increasing among the male members of all our Indian tribes. Indian apprentices are now learning all the mechanical trades of the agencies. They are apt scholars and good workmen, but lack self-reliance, and generally prefer a white man for foreman. A portion of the Santee-Sioux, about seventy-five families, containing three hundred and twelve persons, have removed to Flandreau, Dakota, where they have filed homestead papers, and propose taking on themselves the responsibilities of American citizens. A small portion

> of the Winnebagoes in Minnesota have already been admitted to citizenship, and the entire tribe are rapidly advancing toward citizenship.—*Letter of Barclay White in Board Report for* 1875, p. 112.

The tendency of such facts cannot be mistaken, for with citizenship ends all our troublesome Indian questions. If an Indian can be converted into a citizen by these methods of peace and instruction, then it follows that a few years of earnest and persistent training, aided by such missionary work as our Churches are always ready to bestow, will solve the Indian problem, and put an end to Indian annuities, Indian treaties, Indian raids, and Indian wars.

In view of these facts the retrograde movement for turning the Indians over to the care of the army is, beyond expression, repulsive. The army is the sword of the nation, and a beneficent power in executing judgment; but all military rule is arbitrary, and force provokes force, so that the end would be, not civilization but extermination. On this subject the Board of Commissioners in one of their reports say:—

> It can hardly be a question with thoughtful men whether it is not better to educate the Indians, to build houses and schools and churches for them, to teach them to cultivate the soil and acquire useful trades, to civilize and Christianize them, than to hand them over to a government that we do not choose for ourselves or our children; a government that would feel no interest in, and would make no effort for, the advancement of those whom it governed; a government which is opposed to the genius of liberty and the progress of the race.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1875, p. 15.

In 1868, before the present policy was adopted, a Peace Commission, consisting of eight distinguished citizens, had this subject under consideration, and expressed their views as follows:—

> To determine this properly we must first know what is to be the future treatment of the Indians. If we intend to have war with them, then the Bureau should go over to the department of war; but if we intend to have peace, it should remain in the civil department. In our judgment such wars are wholly unnecessary; and, hoping that the Government and the country will agree with us, we cannot advise the change. But Congress might authorize the President to turn over to the military the exclusive control of such tribes as may be continually hostile or unmanageable.—*Commissioners' Report for* 1875, p. 18.

The soldier is only an element in civilization when he acts as the executor to enforce the mandates of justice. In other respects his influence is almost invariably evil. He is habituated to arbitrary restraint, and his tension in one direction is apt to result in a corresponding looseness in the other direction. Hence he is proverbially easy and corrupt when off duty, and is always an evil influence about an Indian camp. On this subject Agent Wilbur writes as follows:—

> The presence of the military is regarded by the better class of Indians as destructive to morality, good order, and progress in civilization. Judging from the effect produced when this Agency was turned over to a military officer for eighteen months, it would be destructive to every thing like industry, morality, and civilization. It suffered a loss of at least forty thousand dollars during those months. Drinking and drunkenness, gambling and debauching the Indian women, became the common order. Quite a number of the better class of Indians left the Agency, and did not return until there was a change of administration.—*Letter in Report of Board of Commissioners for* 1875, p. 100.

In conclusion, we must express the opinion that the Indian problem which has perplexed so many wise statesmen during the first hundred years of our existence has been solved by these eight years of direct and unselfish effort, and that the way to complete and final success lies in pursuing the same road. Hence we unite our voice with those who find something to approve in the late administration of President Grant. Even if he had not fought a battle; if he had not established the principle of arbitration in the settlement of the national disputes; if he had not commanded compensation for the spoliation of our commerce; if he had not been a successful administrator through eight years of peace, growth, and prosperity, there would still be his Indian policy to render his name illustrious.

A few days before the close of his administration a considerable body of gentlemen, connected with the philanthropic movements of the age and representing important associations, met the Board of Indian Commissioners at their quarterly meeting in Washington, and formed a Convention. There were present such men as Bishop Whipple, of the Episcopal Church; Richard Bentley and Edward Earle, Friends; J. M. Reid, Secretary of the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church; S. S. Cutting, Corresponding Secretary of the American

Home Baptist Missionary Society; J. D. Lowrie, Secretary of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church; M. E. Strieby, Secretary of the American Missionary Society, etc.

After concluding their deliberations they addressed a joint note to the President, in which, after making some recommendations and urging the continuance of the same general policy, they say:—

> The Convention regards it as at once a duty and a pleasure to express its belief that the policy of peace and fair dealing with the Indians is wise, humane, and worthy of a Christian people. The Convention also expresses its high opinion of the firmness of the President in adhering to this line of benevolent action in the face of misunderstanding and opposition. The Convention would therefore respectfully tender to him its grateful acknowledgments for his admirable course of procedure toward the long-oppressed Indian tribes.—*Proceedings in Washington Evening Star, Feb.* 8, 1877.

This modest indorsement of a policy which has the ring of true wisdom and of great statesmanship, and has been rendered successful by great forbearance and great perseverance, may well be accepted by the Christian world.

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ART. III.—MRS. HANNAH PEARCE REEVES, PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL.

WHAT the rights of women are remains, after a century of discussion and experiment, an undetermined problem, as regards a practical or an approximately definite solution. The equal prerogative of the sexes to labor in nearly all provinces of legitimate work, is maintained theoretically by some of the best thinkers of the time; and the slow but continuous pressure of the wedge first forged and thrust—rather roughly, it must be admitted—by a club of reformers, apparently indicates that the status of women, though uncertain as yet, as we have said, is tending naturally toward confirmed and established settlement. The chief hinderance thus far to such a result has lain with the sex itself. For with classes, nations, any and all divisions of society, the test of deserving liberty inheres in the will to acquire it. An earnestness of purpose, intense and sustained—a " beautiful agony," as the Greek phrase describes

it—a sufficient capital of ability for investment in the undertaking, which latter must bear also the character of a sacrifice, carried forward with a determination which may meet with defeat but will not consider it, these attain the consummation of enlarged rights, and assert likewise the requisite fitness to use them. For a right is a wrong and an abuse if it be exercised without discernment and conscience. Hence that doctrine of Sojourner Truth, sybil of African-Americans and feminine conventions, is a text for a homily, or a motto at once cautious and ambitious: If women want their rights let them go and take them. The apologies commonly urged of women's subjugation, miseducation, and the rest, do not weigh the balance against this truth of fitness for an enlarged freedom as determined by capacity and resolution.

When the Roman populace clamored against the oppressions and intolerable servitude imposed upon them by the patricians and senators, they clamored, as the Gallic cock has sometimes crowed in later eras, to no good purpose. But when certain cohorts lifted aloft the eagles, still swearing fealty to them, and marched in military order out of the northern gate up to Mons Sacer, two or three miles away, the whole people followed after; and their late masters, who till then had sat placidly in their curules while the lictors cleared the way, or had listened with undisturbed dignity to Servetus in the senate, looked at one another ruefully, and ruefully upon the stately buildings and the deserted streets. Long had the people clamored for a representative; but not till the clamor ceased, and in the ensuing silence their resolution took the form of significant action, was the office of tribune constituted, to represent their cause and maintain their rights. So, also, in later ages, when the modern Greek protested against his servitude, small encouragement and less aid was given him till the tidings spread from Athens to Edinburgh and New York, that the Suliote mothers leaped from their native cliffs with their babes in their arms rather than live to rear them as slaves for the Ottoman tyrant. When Bozzaris, one of the protesting race, fell in defending it, the Christian world was ready in sympathy and help, and the Greek received all the liberty he could use.

Assuredly woman is not unfitted by nature, pre-eminently

by her Christianized nature, to win, without losing the respect of others, such opportunities for faithful work, or for beneficent influence, as may seem to her desirable. Her gentleness and tact, all the specific qualities implied in the adjective that describes her power—*feminine*—are her most effective weapons, or rather, let us say, modifying the figure to the subject, her most efficient implements. Her intellectual and moral advancement is not a matter for contention, but for assertion and mild maintaining, after the manner instinctive with her. The word mastery has no feminine equivalent. The word sovereignty approaches it, and is quite as good in its way for not suggesting combativeness. She who is ruler in the household may seek, not timorously, but, by virtue of native supremacy, with womanly confidence, for installation elsewhere. The earlier derivative languages have but one word for woman and queen.

Yet precisely how to preserve and adjust her distinctive character to the following of pursuits not entirely domestic or social is a proposition attended with difficulties and perplexities, as any observer of the widening of women's work during the last decade must admit. To treat it with fairness, it is possible that both men and women must revert to first principles and to the earlier historic developments. For modern civilization is not, it hardly need be said, a result of purely virtuous and beneficent forces. Retrograde movements run beside advancing ones in the intricate shifting streams of humanity. The massacre of Saint Bartholomew stains the soil of one country while the Puritans are organizing in another. The founder of the most wide-spread and most atrocious of ecclesiastical orders in the Romish Church stands coeval with the apostle of a restored gospel of conscience, moral obligation, and faith, and with the stern Moses of the Genevan theocracy. The long and painfully wrought work of one age is submerged by cataclysms that toss on their surface naught but muck and drift, as the century-recurring floods bore away the made and remade burghs of the early Hollanders. The condition of races and sexes rises and falls like those strange columns of the ancient temple to Jupiter Serapion by the shore of the Neapolitan Bay.

Among the Hebrews, till their decadence just prior to the Christian era, the position of woman was, in some significant

respects, identical with that of man. She was singer, prophetess, warrior; and as wife and mother her office was ennobled, by the hope of the Messiah, above that of her sex in contemporaneous nations. Among the earliest Aryans, also, no evidence exists of any great disparity between the interests and pursuits of men and women. The Saxon tribes held the woman to be veritably the consort of her mate. Marriage was a compact bearing with equal weight and advantage upon both parties. The husband was not less dutiful nor less faithful than the wife. She sat in his councils, and was his peer, though she wove and spun while he plowed and harvested. And to the student of history in its bearings on social science, it is evident that no epoch of the world has been quite devoid of some attestation to woman's complementary or equal rank as a consort—one whose destiny and state is of the same dignity and worth with the man's; and this idea *may* imply identity of pursuits, as well as identity of interests. That the relative position of the sex in the Hebrew theocracy did not irrevocably decline is evident; since to-day the Old and New Testaments are claimed as its original charter of rights, and the advocates for feminine workers in the Church base their arguments upon citations and interpretations of Scripture.

Nevertheless with thus much in her favor, the feminine has remained far behind the masculine mind in intellectual advancement; so far behind, that not a few impartial minds question whether women generally should wish to compete with the more vigorous and better-trained sex in this direction. That nature hath reserved intellectual distinction for men, most of us would admit without hesitation were the postulate referred entirely to precedent. Yet not seldom has she seemed to mistake; and ever and anon through all the ages women appear who have kept pace with, have even rivaled, men in their special prerogative of mental force. Pre-eminently in the provinces of instruction and of government we find these women—from the days of Deborah, wife, poetess, and judge, to those of Maria Theresa, "our king," as her nobles named her with acclamation. It is a fact, then, worthy of notice, that down to the present century, when the range of feminine activities is greatly varied and enlarged, women have shone most

signally in those positions that demand a union of character with talent. The most vigorous of feminine minds have been unable to dispense with that moral power which is the prerogative of their sex. When this has been ignored or violated, as in the instance of the primal mother of the race, or leaving many another out of sight, in that foremost woman of genius, lately deceased, George Sand—who, be it said in justice, so far repented and so thoroughly reformed as to retract the pernicious principles of her earlier works by teaching naught but virtue in her later ones—when this adjustment of the *morale* is disordered, what a terrible power for evil has woman proved herself, when she might have been equally and incalculably potent for good!

Of a woman signally useful in the manner we have alluded to, a woman of the present century, laboring in our own country, self-and-well-made, useful beyond the ordinary measure of useful men; filling a position foreign to her sex, yet filling it acceptably; overcoming prejudice by her demeanor and by the best of arguments, success; heroic in hardships and sacrifices, yet not wanting in filial dutifulness, in conjugal and maternal affection, and domestic aptitudes; manifesting the gentleness of manner and loveliness of spirit that constitutes a lady;—of such a one we purpose to give a brief delineation. For though she sought not honor among men, being content that her works should "follow" her, such a character intrinsically and extrinsically deserves recognition as an ensample for the time in which it has appeared—possibly, also, as a type of what the time can produce.

Mrs. Hannah Pearce Reeves,* a preacher of the Methodist Protestant Church in Ohio and adjacent States, was born with the century, of the yeomanry class in Devonshire, England. By birthright she received the goodly qualities that have belonged to her people through a thousand years—thrift, independence, courage, whatever makes the substratum and substance of the Saxon country folk, whether they be freeholders, franklins, or yeomen; for the same men and women gathered into corporate communities by Alfred, and portrayed by Chaucer, appear again in their ancient hamlets in their descendants

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* "The Lady Preacher; or, the Life of Mrs. Hannah Pearce Reeves." By Rev. George Brown, D.D. Philadelphia: Daughaday & Becker.

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of the present; modified, it is true, by the conditions of modern life, yet substantially unchanged.

In her early years she was taught the offices of the household and dairy, acquired a knowledge of horses, as her chief accomplishment, and such other practical lore as fits a rural English lass for the occupations of her mature years. Her father, led astray by the seductions of his class—the chase and the tavern—was accustomed to consult her in matters of business when she was scarcely in her teens; and from the beginning she gave evidence of a strong nature that, once brought under the power of religion, would exert an extraordinary and beneficent influence. But the region wherein she was reared lay in the dearth and death of unreligion. The Dissenters had not penetrated it, and the parsons of the Establishment were commonly of that incongruous sort, so common in the last century, and withal not yet extinct—men of much the same pattern as the "lower orders," so to speak, of the Establishment of Rome; albeit in those, as contrasted with these, the grossness of the pattern is somewhat toned—men given to cards and wine, fox-hunters, horse-racers, profligates. A lull had followed upon the great revival that produced Methodism. In many places the light of the Churches had declined, though it was still guarded and fed by humble hands. Among these devout souls was one William O'Bryan, founder of a small sect known as Bible Christians, an offshoot from the Wesleyan stock, that gave prominence to the idea held at first, but later abandoned by the parent sect, of women-workers in the Church. This good man directed one of his journeys or itinerations toward Devonshire, to whose benighted people he preached the Gospel with earnestness and effect. A society was organized in Sheepwash, the hamlet wherein Hannah dwelt; and somewhat later, through the instrumentality of the Rev. James Thorne, a man of gifts and devotion, she was brought under conviction. For she was bred and ever remained among that social class who, unrestrained by timidity and unrepressed by culture in their religious exercises, experience the successive grades of spiritual experience with marked distinctiveness; who wrestle in prayer and faith for "the blessing," are subject to spiritual manifestations, and shout for spiritual joy.

Her conversion, occurring in her eighteenth year, was decisive, in accordance with her character. After suffering protractedly from the consciousness of sin, she fell upon her knees and resolved never more to rise till she was relieved of this burden; choosing to wait thus like a heavy laden but watchful sentinel, or to die in the struggle rather than give it over. Of necessity such a resolution was a conquering one, for it is this violence that the kingdom of heaven suffereth, and the violent take it by force. She rose with the consciousness of reconciliation with the Father of spirits, and the next day, in obedience to the injunction, "And when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren," went among her neighbors pleading with and constraining them by the love of Christ to follow Him in the regeneration. After the practice of the devout of her day she wrote certain rules for holy living, and through fifty subsequent years she was directed by the spirit, if not always by the letter, of her resolution, exemplifying the sweetness and the power of the Gospel in a life of extraordinary endurance and exertion.

Simultaneous with her change of heart was her call to preach, a summons that she heard with indubitable clearness. Although her opportunities for learning had been meager, her native sense and propriety stood her in such good stead that it is recorded, "She was never known to violate the laws of grammar, logic, good taste, or scriptural theology." She stood with moderate, dignified bearing in the pulpit, serene in countenance, self-possessed in manner. Her gestures were firm, but unconstrained and appropriate; her voice mellow, soft, and clear; her diction fluent; her utterance perfectly distinct. Her preaching was without ornament or display, save the ornament of a meek spirit imparting the most beautiful, sometimes the most pathetic, truth. She had plainly no other aim in the pulpit than to rescue sinners and to confirm the faith of the devout. "In all her ministrations it was felt that the mighty God was with her;" and yet she was but a rustic maid, an English Jeanne d'Arc, called to spiritual fields of battle, defending the souls that followed her against principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world. Youthful championess as she was, she went bravely out to meet the great destroyer

on his own field—him who through thousands of years has passed raging to and fro on the earth amid the windrows of his slain. Many a time, as if descending from the height ot her heavenly theme, was her foot set upon the crest of this arch enemy; many a soul did she bear away from his strong grasp.

Like Paul, the tent-maker, she worked at a craft, making gloves for her daily bread; and later, when this employment proved unprofitable, she served as domestic in the family of a squire, a step that proved of much advantage to the development of her talents; for her new employer, perceiving these, furnished her with opportunities for social and mental improvement that must have been extremely grateful to their *protégé*. She repaid this kindness by leading the head of the family into membership with the household of God. He subsequently became an evangelical preacher. Meanwhile the burden of her own responsibility, as one sent with Christ's message to men, oppressed her soul. And here occurs a thoroughly Methodistic incident in her career: Methodistic, Puritanic, or Catholic, as you will; for in all epochs of strong religious feeling such confessings between God and his creatures bearing upon special concerns have been common; and among some of our own people they still obtain, though not now with the unqualified approval of the denomination at large. She consulted a certain "Uncle" Allen, a man strong in faith and prayer, who talked with God as a man speaketh with his human friend. He inquired of the Lord concerning Hannah, and received answer that his will was for her to go abroad and preach. "On what circuit, Lord?" asked this devout spiritualist. "On Shebbear Circuit." "What, that great circuit, Lord? What wilt thou do with little Brother Samuel Swale?" "Take him home," was the reply. "Take little Brother Swale home, Lord? Well, thy will be done," answered the pleader, not clearly comprehending the message he had obtained. Within a short time the young preacher mentioned died unexpectedly, and Hannah was appointed to Shebbear Circuit.

Thus, at the early age of nineteen, leaving family, friends, the comforts of a home, the more desirable as her health was not robust, Miss Pearce set forth upon the work of her life. It was to be made up of arduous journeys and innumerable

religious services; of path breaking in the virgin forests of the New World, of fording perilous streams, of winning men to Christ in cabin and meeting-house, of pleading with the lowest, and of preaching before members of Conference, many of whom were distinguished for their gifts and spirituality. Hunger, thirst, cold, were often her only attendants. Sometimes she would turn aside to gather berries in the field, these furnishing her only repast; sometimes both horse and rider would travel the whole day without food. On one of her rounds she was used, at stated intervals, to walk thirty miles and conduct three religious services in one day. When asked concerning her record she gave it modestly, protesting that she did not wish her name "paraded in history;" but it is a notable name in the annals of her denomination, and occupies assuredly one of its most remarkable pages.

Many instances of special providences, such as the early itinerants took a religious pleasure in recounting, occurred in her eventful life. One evening when she paused on her circuit, wearied in body and mind, she prayed the Lord to prevent a dancing-party that was to assemble in an adjacent house, fearing that the noise would deprive her of sleep, and so unfit her for the morrow's duty. A string of the violin—the only instrument of its kind in this rustic orchestra—broke in the opening of the dance, and the company dispersed. Miss Pearce gave thanks, and went on her way refreshed and rejoicing. Again, she narrowly escaped drowning while crossing a flood, after the ferryman had vainly expostulated against her making the attempt. But in the service of self-renouncing love to which she was consecrated she counted not her life dear. So numerous were her escapes from perils of land and sea, of fire and flood and disease, that she seemed to bear a charmed life, or, rather, to be invested with a spiritual panoply impervious to assaults of the elements or of circumstances. In an emergency for want of money it became necessary to sell her horse. A man offered her half its value, but this she declined, and prayed earnestly that God would send a purchaser. The next morning, when on her way to an appointment, a stranger accosted her, and asked whether she would sell the horse. A bargain was thereupon concluded,

and the money paid on the spot. Such reliefs in emergencies she accepted as beneficent acts of the divine Love in answer to her appeal.

In her character the distinctively masculine and feminine virtues balanced one another. Gentle, gracious, benignant, she was also, as we have seen, forcible of intellect, indomitable of will. The superintendent of a circuit in England, hearing of the threats of certain desperadoes, hesitated to keep an appointment he had made. Miss Pearce, still in her maiden years, said, "Friend, let me fight that battle for you. I am not afraid." Accordingly the girl went to meet the man's enemies. The ruffians, fantastically disguised and boisterous, entered the place of assembly, much to the alarm of the few gathered there. But Miss Pearce intimidated the band in the outburst by her silence and composure. "It looks like a man," she said, scrutinizing the ringleader. "If it is the devil, I will know before he leaves the house." In the moment she bolted the door, summoned witnesses from the assembly, sent for a constable, and forthwith preferred her charges. Sentence of imprisonment was pronounced upon the accused; but being moved at the tears and pleadings of his mother, Miss Pearce obtained a commutation of the sentence to a fine —half of the money to be spent on the poor, and half on the printing of handbills containing an account of the disturbance, to be placarded in the vicinity—the magistrate declining to inflict a lesser punishment. The result was the quelling of ruffianism in the place, and the conversion of the ringleader who had represented it.

During this rencounter an officer of the law reproved her for being "out of her sphere," and began to search for scriptural proof against women's preaching. Unable to discover the passages bearing on this point, Miss Pearce found them for him, and expounded them in so orderly and cogent a manner that he was astonished at the refutation *in propriâ personâ* of his argument, and exclaimed, "Who shall say that a woman must not preach!" Again, when threatened by a band of scoffers, she chose the text, "Suffer me that I may speak; and after that I have spoken, mock on." She discoursed of the dignity and destiny of man, and of his fall, asking, "Is this a theme to mock at?" She described the life and the redemption of our

Lord, and repeated the question. She explained repentance, faith, pardon, peace, sanctification; urging still, "Do these themes deserve the scorn of man?" She spake of death, the resurrection, the judgment; of heaven, hell, eternity; asking, "Are these realities to be mocked at?" By this time the men were abashed and pallid. In tones of solemnity and warning she repeated the words, "Now, mock on!" What could have been more effective than a sermon indicated by these outlines, with such a peroration! The mockers were heard of no more. The truth is the preacher's courage was akin to Luther's. She faltered at no phantom nor reality; she feared nothing but the wrath of God. With a heart thoroughly gentle and feminine, her consciousness must have been something like that of Nelson, who, on being told, when a boy, he would meet with hunger, cold, and fear if he went upon a certain daring excursion, asked, "What is fear? I never saw it."

She preached a sermon mentioned as "remarkable" when Asa Shinn and Nicholas Snethen, eminent men in the denomination, were among her auditors, the latter minister following her with an exhortation. Twice she delivered a sermon before a Conference of the Methodist Protestants, an assembly containing men of genius and devotion. Yet at this time, 1831, she was probably the only preacher among her sex in the country, and one of but few upon the globe. The Conference sent a deputation to ask whether she would accept an appointment. "You might appoint me to Cincinnati, and my husband to Pittsburgh," she smilingly objected, "and that, you know, sirs, would never do." She wished simply to work as she could with him, to whom she was the most faithful of wives, as her watchings, and cares, and tenderness attested. On several occasions by her intrepidity and wisdom she rescued him from impending death. Superior to him in gifts, she was pleased to remain his helpmeet merely, and never hurt, by undue assumption, the love she had awakened. With an unusual, and, as it seems to us, an admirable magnanimity, he terms her his true yoke-fellow, his dear companion in the Gospel, his beloved colleague. When he heard the persuasive utterances that fell from her lips, his heart, he writes, was quickened with gratitude. The two were inspired with one spirit, one consecration from the beginning. And no member of Congress or Parlia-

ment whose wife, as a leader of society, enhances his position and enlarges his influence, could felicitate himself on his marital relations more than did this good English minister over his helpmeet in the Gospel. To their followers they must have appeared as

> "Co-supremes in unison,
> Two distincts, division none.
> . . . How true a twain
> Seemed this concordant one."

By much tact and patience she had overcome the objections of her kindred to her departure from England, and had encountered perils by sea and land to unite her life and labors with his in the wilds of a new State. Immediately upon their marriage they set forth upon an itinerant journey that extended through five large counties of Ohio, where they proclaimed the Gospel by day and by night. This peculiar union—where unequal but not diverse gifts were set together—where one life was not simply complemented by another, but the two, redoubled in activities, were energized and vitalized by the blending—this anomalous but most felicitous union with the lover of her maidenhood remained intact to the end.

Those singular manifestations that our early itinerants regarded as evidences of the divine power upon the organism of man were not wanting in the course of her ministrations. At a meeting she attended, a maiden, falling in a trance, emptied the grate of glowing coals with bare hands, and experienced no harm. Mrs. Reeves witnessed this phenomenon, and testifies to the piety of the young woman, who subsequently in single and married life exemplified the power of the faith so strangely attested on this occasion. Again, when many were stricken down, and "lay like corpses," a young man fell in a trance that continued through a fortnight. Friends, physicians, and others examined the case, but could not explain it. During this period he took no food, yet preserved a healthy pulse. In a brief interval of consciousness he sent a message to a lady who had striven long and without avail for the consciousness of pardon, bidding her be of good cheer; the suffering for sin would shortly be dispersed by "the blessing." She took heart at the word, and soon entered into the liberty wherewith Christ maketh free. When consciousness at last returned

he was dumb, like Zacharias of old, but signified that he would regain his speech at a specified time. On the day mentioned his lips were unsealed, and he spake, praising and glorifying God. Though reticent of his experience during this partial suspension of physical functions, as if he had seen that which is unlawful for a man to utter, he did, nevertheless, relate things "marvelous indeed" to those that stood by. Various theories are entertained regarding such instances of physical suspension and spiritual vision. Those simply of suspension, are explicable physiologically; some are psychological, some may be spiritual in their origin. Be this as it may, such phenomena do actually occur; they are factual, to use a Positive term, if not invariably explicable. Mrs. Reeves herself once or twice "lost her strength," and recovered it with shoutings. But her mental structure was too orderly and compacted to admit of frequent demonstrations of this sort. With her, though spontaneous—for they could not have been made or forced—they were resultant, doubtless, from the character of her work and that of the class among whom she labored.

The benign fruits of the Spirit, manifested with peculiar grace in Christian womanhood, in her spread a soft radiance over a character that otherwise might have been too sharply salient on its vigorous sides. The impelling motive of her life lay in a faith that in its active phase is evinced as an enthusiasm for humanity. "Friends, kindred, dear brotherhood of all the world," were greeted by her sympathies and amenities. Wherever she lived or journeyed she found her parish, and all within it might feel the winning influence of her love. By her tender persuasions not a few of her kindred and personal friends were reclaimed from intemperance and irreligion. Over and again her presence and her winning words disarmed the prejudice of those who had regarded women's preaching as a monstrous error. The sweetness of her influence illustrated her name, Hannah—the gracious, the merciful. When typhoid fever spread among her charges, and she perceived that the medical men of the rude settlements were incompetent to treat it, she used her own knowledge and skill, which must have been considerable, and went about as nurse and physician in one till the disease was conquered. She herself suffered from a partial attack of it after all her patients were recovered. With a Univer-

whilst she conversed much on the divine beneficence, instead of thrusting at her with controversial weapons, as a less wise person would have done. Thus by the allurements of gentleness she drew her friend over to her own belief and communion. Among the Friends she announced that she was deeply impressed to make an appointment for the early morning, that the working people might have opportunity to hear the Gospel before their toil began. The Friends approved the proposal, as made by one moved of the Spirit. A Church member, somewhat staggered by her extraordinary influence with the people, was led to fear for masculine domination in the councils of the Society. "Mrs. Reeves would sway her husband," he said; "Mr. Reeves would rule the Church: the denomination would suffer; the result might prove a gyneocracy—a woman-rule." Troubled with this apprehension, he set himself as watcher over the object of it; but after several weeks of scrutiny could find no fault in one who went about intent on naught but works of healing and consolation. He went to her in private with confessions of his error, and constituted himself thereafter her redoubtable champion.

A ruffianly man living within her husband's circuit had openly threatened him with violence. Mr. Reeves, to avoid a brawl, passed by "on the other side" from the man's abode, being convinced that overtures in this case would be useless if not provocative. But Mrs. Reeves yearning for this alienated soul, went alone to him, "entreated him kindly," and led him, changed in a right mind, to the feet of Him who cast out evil and clamorous spirits. Truly, one might lawfully pray for more of such preachers, whether they be men or women! The fact that the most desperate cases, and the most vicious classes, can be reached by the influence of womanhood, often, it would seem, only by this power, is worthy of consideration by religious philanthropists and organizers. Felons, convicts, lunatics, adjudged to be utterly unreclaimable by the authorities of Newgate, became obedient to the gentle sway of Elizabeth Fry. And souls lost in the slums of the Five Points, souls that neither policemen nor ministers of the Gospel could reach, were brought to light and humanized by the group of Methodist ladies who, with no exterior protection, penetrated the place some twenty years ago.

This wonderful power of Christian womanhood was evinced not in the deeds alone, but in the daily life, of Mrs. Reeves. Living upon a spiritual plane of existence, free from vexations and confusions, she drew to herself whoever looked to her for relief. Without descending from her own serene altitudes, she lifted other souls from their cloudier ones. Skillful to heal the body and to illuminate the spirit, influence also went forth from her to restore the diseased mind. Being for a time under the roof with an insane woman, she took her in charge, and following her trustworthy instinct, or sense, adopted the same regimen that a physician would prescribe in like case. Soothing words, apt replies, tact in yielding to the patient's whims, suitable employment, interchanged with diversion, allayed the fever of the brain, and restored the sufferer to calmness and peace. She lived a number of years thereafter, ever abounding in gratitude to this handmaiden of the Healer of man. A good brother whose wife had been led to Christ through her influence, unable to procure any other gift, offered her their infant daughter as the dearest sacrifice their hearts could make. It received in baptism the name, Hannah Pearce. Mrs. Reeves, who had lost an only child, pressed the little creature to her bosom, but refused to bear it away from the maternal one. The biography adds, as a last touch to this picture, that the babe's mother covered it with kisses, and held it as if it should leave her clasp no more. She comprehended, perhaps, something of the feeling that shook Abraham's heart when, after the supreme moment of sacrifice, Isaac lay unharmed and smiling in his embrace.

Thus, blessing and being blessed, the "Mother" of her people approached the close of life. In her sixtieth year, impaired in health, she performed a Sabbath's services for a Church in Cincinnati, and accepted an appointment for the next evening to preach from the same pulpit. Unable to absent herself from her over hospitable friends through the day, and longing for an hour of repose and meditation, she repaired toward evening, to the church, and leaned her head upon the front of a pew. But she had scarcely fallen in a light slumber when the hour of service was announced, and, unrefreshed, she ascended the pulpit stairs. In the first prayer she was so wrought upon by exhaustion and fervor that she thought to

"have gone home then and there." Yet she arose to preach from the text, "When I am weak then am I strong." The force of this deep truth, proclaimed by one who was upheld in that hour not by her own, but by the divine strength, was felt with solemnity by the assembly. The presence of Him whose power is made perfect in weakness was with the people, and many were turned from their sinfulness to His salvation, as the result of this sermon. It was her last in the regular course of her labors, though she continued abundant in good works and in afflictions to the end, which came some nine years later. She helped in raising funds for the Churches, in the Sunday-school, and occasionally in the pulpit. Her last discourse from it was made in her sixty-eighth year, upon a text full of significance, as uttered by an aged teacher of sacred truth, and an exemplar of a holy life: "Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of Him in peace, without spot, and blameless."

Like nearly all her co-laborers in the first fields of the Church, she died well. Long before the last day of life she had learned to think of the grave simply as a place of grateful rest. She gently corrected her friends when they spoke of the gloom of the dark valley, and encouraged her husband when he trembled at their separation. She thought on Saturday it would be "good to go home on Sunday." Her tranquillity is strongly contrasted with the distress of her "true yoke-fellow," who being in an agony, besought God for support in the coming trial. Toward the last her utterances passed from tones of serenity to cadences of triumph. "He is with me; He told me he would abide with me to the end; He has kept his word. Open the doors wide; let it be seen how happily a Christian can die!" she exclaimed, repeating the words of another illustrious Christian in his latest hour. "All is well" she affirmed often, and murmured, as if meditating upon the sustaining thought of the hymn:—

"When languor and disease invade
This trembling house of clay,
'Tis sweet to look beyond my pains," etc.

On the morning of November 13, 1868, sitting in her arm-chair, her head reclining against a pillow, her hands

folded, she fell asleep; the sleep which is an awakening to the life immortal. So passed the strong, heroic soul away.

The actual results of Mrs. Reeves' ministry cannot be given in words or numbers. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of souls were led by her from darkness to the true Light. But her influence on the multitudes whose minds and hearts were quickened by contact with her own, her influence upon the social elements gathered and combining in newly opened tracts of country, is altogether beyond estimate. It is vital to-day in the lives of those who dwell in the region of her labors. It will pass onward in silent waves through the years to come, nor will the breadth or depth of the stream be measurable in time. In the consummation of time it may be seen, perchance, intermingling with the tide of service allotted to this ardent spirit, excelling in strength, eternally fulfilling the Will that created it for blessing and honor, in the kingdom of grace. "And they shall reign for ever and ever. . . . And his servants shall serve him."

We can discern but one mistake in the plan and course of this life,—a mistake that was permitted, perhaps, in order to make manifest its correlative truth. As a rule, no one, certainly no woman, can well follow two professions. She will inevitably be compelled to intermit the one at the expense of the other; and such alternations are perplexing, if not impracticable. With less muscular and nervous strength than her mate, she will do well, will really surpass him in exertion, if she becomes thoroughly efficient in one. Mrs. Reeves was the mother of three children, all of whom perished in early years. Her biography indicates that they were born but to die thus prematurely; for the maternal profession—and it is such—precludes another set of duties alien to it. Certain queens, it is true, have reared large families and ruled the State simultaneously: as Victoria and Maria Theresa. But as regards the first, the duties of English royalty, when referred to a queen, do not interfere with, but are, on the contrary, subordinate to, the offices of the mother as head of the family. As regards the second, the fatal lack of maternal care that allowed the mis-education and non-education of her beautiful, unhappy daughter, Marie Antoinette, goes to prove the general truth of the assertion made above.

Mrs. Reeves' personal appearance was in keeping with her character. A working woman, she was invested with native dignity. Without beauty in the common acceptation, she always seemed beautiful, because the beautiful virtues of strength, steadfastness, courage, tenderness, emanated from her presence. Looking upon the transcript of her face, serene, kind, touched with the sadness of humanity, and with the compassion of the Son of man—and upon her hands, scarcely less significant than the face—soft, shapely, maternal hands, that brought gifts to men; whose touch conveyed healing, benignity, goodness,—looking upon these, one is constrained to think, This was, of a truth, a chosen messenger, a servant obedient to the heavenly will. Humble as were the surroundings of her lot, lowly as was her spirit, intent upon tasks that were wrought in all humility, and that would often have been repugnant to an unconsecrated ambition, we can but say, looking backward from the closing of this life,

> "Thou to woman's claim
> And man's, didst join besides the angel's grace
> Of a pure genius sanctified from blame."

Not many are like her; yet some may approach to her semblance. Hence this example, though absent and voiceless, claims encouragement and opportunity for the woman of excellence in whatever class or place she may stand, waiting for an open way; until her province shall be enlarged, even as his whose consort she is; until in the world, as in the ideal Church, there shall be neither male nor female, save for the divine ordering, in the mutual duties of the family,—but both shall be as one in the universal service of Him who has created all existences to obey his will with ardor, and to live in the liberty of his love.

Mrs. Reeves' personal appearance was in keeping with her character. A working woman, she was invested with native dignity. Without beauty in the common acceptation, she always seemed beautiful, because the beautiful virtues of strength, steadfastness, courage, tenderness, emanated from her presence. Looking upon the daguerreotype of her face, serene, kind, touched with the sadness of humanity, and with the compassion of the Son of man,—and upon her hands, scarcely less significant than the face,—soft, shapely, motherly hands, that brought gifts to men; whose touch conveyed healing, benignity, goodness,—looking upon these, one is constrained to think, This was, of a truth, a chosen messenger, a servant obedient to the heavenly will. Humble as were the surroundings of her lot, lowly as was her spirit, intent upon tasks that were wrought in all humility, and that would often have been repugnant to an unconsecrated ambition, we can but say, feeling bereaved from the closing of this life,

"Thou in heaven art now,
And earth's dark day lacks the angel grace
Of a more gentle soul and pure than thine."

Not many are like her; yet some may approach to her semblance. Hence the example, though modest and voiceless, claims encouragement and opportunity for the woman of excellence in whatever class or place she may stand, waiting for an open way; until her province shall be enlarged, even as his whose consort she is; until in the world, as in the ideal Church, there shall be neither male nor female, save for the diverse offering, in the mutual duties of the family,—but both shall be as one in the universal service of Him who has created all creatures to obey his will with order, and to live in the liberty of his love.

ART. IV.—LIBERIA AT THE AMERICAN CENTENNIAL.

IT is the singular privilege of the present generation to live in the period of the centennial anniversaries of the two greatest events of modern times, namely, the discovery of America and the Declaration of American Independence. The man of sixty may live to celebrate, sixteen years hence, the four hundredth anniversary of the great achievement of the illustrious Italian. It is fit that the anniversaries of such remarkable epochs in the history of human progress should be separated by no wider interval. Next to the discovery of America must always be reckoned the recovery of America. It is a time for retrospection and reflection—for gratitude for the past, and lofty resolves for the future.

The American Colonization Society, in its last Annual Report, (January, 1876,) says:—

> The American nation will celebrate this year the one hundredth anniversary of its national independence. Among the leading events which have taken place during the present century there is none more illustrative of the spirit of American civilization than the organization of this society, and the establishment, under its auspices, of the Republic of Liberia.

Christian philanthropy in the United States stretched its arm over the Atlantic and founded this Republic; and it has never yet relaxed its interest in or its effort on behalf of this offspring of its benevolence. And when it is remembered that some of the men who laid the foundation of American greatness—who endured all the perils of the revolutionary period—the great and good of early American history, were ardent supporters of African colonization, giving to the cause the weight of their names and hallowing it with their latest blessing, it may not be unreasonable in us to presume that the readers of this Review, in the midst of their patriotic rejoicings, will not grudge the few minutes that they may be asked to give in glancing at the present condition and prospects of this offshoot from the great American Republic.

The African continent is now giving up the secrets it has hitherto kept from the world, and is being opened to travel and

enterprise, to trade and colonization. Lieutenant Cameron has just performed the astounding feat of walking across the continent. The white man's foot having now been planted in Central Africa with a firmer tread than ever before, European nations are determining to follow with their enterprise and trade, their benevolence and science, in the wake of their courageous explorers. Under these circumstances the Republic of Liberia, occupying so prominent a part of West Africa, even if it has no political significance, cannot be regarded with indifference on account of its geographical and relative importance on the borders of this immense country.

The colony of Liberia was established in 1822 by Negro emigrants from the United States, and it became an independent Republic in 1847. So far as the motives which led the immigrants to seek an asylum on these shores were concerned, the origin of the colony was similar to that of the American Republic. The people who founded it were refugees from oppression. But there the similarity ends. The African Republic has not been so fortunate as its great western model in the character and class of people upon whom the task of building it up has devolved.

We can trace the present greatness of the United States to the character of the men who, driven by religious persecution from different parts of Europe, sought a home in the western hemisphere, and laid the foundation of that Republic. And we can trace the present condition of Liberia, apparently paralyzed on the margin of a continent, to the antecedent disadvantages of those who, without training, culture, or experience, fled hither from physical, mental, and political degradation. Happy was the American nation in the circumstances of its birth—in the elements that nurtured its infancy!—fortunate in the character of the germ which was planted on its shores! Not so Liberia.

Far more fortunate, however, was this new Republic in the character of her early settlers than in that of the accessions she has been receiving in later years. During the last ten or fifteen years poverty and ignorance have been the capital which, as a general thing, the immigrants have imported to these shores.

Just at this moment, in the United States, Negroes in com-

fortable circumstances do not feel the need of leaving the land of their birth for the coast of Africa. The class who are seeking and receiving the patronage of the American Colonization Society, as far as it is able to extend it, are persons who, with some exceptions, but still for the most part as a rule, are hard pressed by straitened circumstances, and who imagine that they will be able to make a somewhat easy living in Liberia. In the Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, quoted above, specimens are given "from numerous spontaneous applications" received by the society for aid to emigrate to Liberia. The following is one:—

> Columbus, Miss., *November* 18, 1875.
>
> Dear Sir: In writing you these few lines I feel much depressed in spirit. The mass of colored people in this vicinity have almost unanimously concluded to emigrate to Liberia. We appeal to you, now, for information and assistance. As a class, we are poor and destitute of means. As we learn that the vessel is to go over next May, we would be glad if you could arrange it so some of us could leave at that time. No one but a colored man can realize the circumstances by which we, as a race, are surrounded. If you can do any thing for us, do, for God's sake, help us. We are here houseless, moneyless, friendless, and less every thing else that pertains to happiness. Help us if you can.
>
> Yours, etc., W. J. Mitchell.

Now we know that it is the good fortune of comparatively few in any country to lift themselves above very narrow circumstances, and that men as destitute as the Mississippi applicants so pathetically describe themselves to be have emigrated from Ireland and various parts of Germany to the United States, and have become useful and prosperous citizens. But the circumstances of the two countries are entirely different. In the United States there are numerous employers and directors of labor to take up this influx of physical power and give it employment. In Liberia there is no lack of the lower kinds of unskilled labor supplied by the numerous aborigines who throng the settlements. The immigrant who comes from America is at once made a proprietor. He has land given to him by law. But having no capital to employ labor, he must enter single-handed upon the work of subduing the forest, and with all the effort he may put forth, it is with the utmost difficulty that he ever rises above a hand-to-mouth existence.

Hence very often men owning their twenty-five acres of land, pressed by their necessities, prefer to leave it a wilderness and go to the arduous and, for new-comers, perilous labor of shingle and lumber getting, or enter the employ of men who may be able to keep them from starving, but hardly able to give them a start toward self-support on their own lands.

Inferior also in educational training to the peasants, vine-dressers, tradesmen, mechanics, and common laborers who go from Germany to the United States, and soon better their condition and prospects, the negro immigrant coming to this country in his poverty can do nothing but swell the indigence and incompetence which already hamper the progress of the nation. Such persons driven to Liberia by the want of subsistence, that subsistence is all they will care to seek or find in Liberia. Thus we get among us a permanent pauper class.

When, therefore, our friends in America, and others not friends, lay it to the charge of Liberia as a discredit that she does so little to support her religious and educational institutions, we may reply that this discreditable state of things may be largely attributed to the fact that the accessions to our civilized population, while they add to the poverty of the country, hardly increase its intelligence or political capital. And while it is a fact that much, more might be done by Liberians than is being done in the matter of self-support and aggressive work, still, under the circumstances, it will be seen how difficult it must be for any community to get beyond what must on the whole be described as a pauperized condition. In endeavoring to grapple with the great work that lies before us we are often like men that "hew down oaks with rushes."

Nevertheless, taking a view of the present condition of Liberia physically speaking, we must admit that our facilities of territory and population—the natural facilities of the country — are unsurpassed, and furnish the basis for unlimited progress.

Our territory extends along the coast for six hundred miles, embracing the most prolific lands, and containing a population consisting of the most interesting tribes of the West Coast. The north-western portion of our territory is inhabited by the Vey tribe, noted for their intelligence and invention of the

syllabic alphabet, in which books have been printed in Europe, and which is taught in indigenous schools throughout the Vey country. In the central portions of the republic we have the Pesseh and Golah tribes, who are the peasantry of the country, affording an inexhaustible supply of agricultural laborers, and the Bassa tribe, who are the great producers of palm oil, which is so important an item in West African commerce. Next to these in our south-eastern regions are the Kroomen, who are the sailors of the coast, furnishing hands to all steamers and trading vessels, and laborers to the multitudinous factories in the great oil rivers. With these may be numbered the Greboes, who, owing to the faithful labors of the Presbyterian and Episcopal missions, have received a degree of enlightenment superior to all the Liberian aborigines, and having recently, on account of alleged grievances, formed themselves into a confederacy for offensive and defensive purposes, subjected the republic to no small inconvenience. All along our eastern frontiers we have the numerous Mandingoes, who are Mohammedans, and who are also the merchants, travelers, and educationists of the interior.

With such an extent of territory, and such a population, all anxious to form a part of the Republic, some of whom are superior to many of the Liberians in energy, in skill, and in capacity for improvement—if the Liberian government were less inert in developing the material resources of the country, and more disposed to avail itself of the political capital within its reach, the Republic might long since have risen to real independence and prosperity. In point of revenue, of political and commercial importance, of influence in the interior, no civilized government on the coast would have surpassed it. But there have been drawbacks.

The first we shall mention, already more than anticipated, has arisen from the unprepared condition of the persons who have, as a general thing, been sent to this country, and their consequent inadequate conception of their position and work on this continent. We notice that there exists at the present moment, among leading colonizationists in the United States, a diversity of opinion as to the character and probable usefulness of the emigrants now sent to Liberia. The New York State Colonization Society has for several years suspended all

active participation in the sending of emigrants to this country, preferring to devote its attention mainly to educational work among those already sent out.

A writer in the "African Repository" for June, 1874, speaking of the emigrants sent to Liberia, says: "Their Christian manhood is largely effective in molding the manners and shaping the destiny of the natives of Africa."

General Phelps, of Vermont, however, shows a clearer insight into and a deeper acquaintance with human nature and the facts of history when he says in the "Repository" for October, 1874:—

> We Americans, who have violated every one of the ten commandments, and every precept of Christ against the person of the Negro, ought to be the very last people to set up as his religious and moral instructors. The impressive, solemn, yet elevating influences of nature in the solitude of African forests, would be a far safer, more invigorating, and ennobling teacher. Nothing great or worthy can ever be done by the oppressed spirit of a man or a race that is cowed by another man or race, as the Negro ever must be in America.

It will not be denied by any thinking man, that while the Negro in his American exile has gained a knowledge of the Christian religion and many of the elements of European civilization, he has sustained some important losses; and, so far as his work in Africa is concerned, his attainments abroad will be at times a serious barrier to his usefulness. In order to become an effective worker among his people he will have to unlearn a great many things which he now regards as indispensable to progress.

In the first place, he will have to learn that the Anglo-Saxon race, either in their physical character or in their political methods, are not the ultimate standard of human development. The Negro who comes to Africa from the United States, however unadulterated his blood or unmixed his descent, comes imbued with the notion—and how can he help it?—that not only the Anglo-Saxon race, but the American branch of it, is the unexceptionable standard and guide of humanity in social and political no less than in religious matters. When he arrives home, therefore, and sees his own people in their primitive condition, but with a natural basis of successful

growth, contrasting their condition with what he left behind him in America, he conceives a feeling of distance, if not of aversion, and determines in his mind that, so far as he is concerned, this whole thing must be set right. Entirely unacquainted with the customs of races not Anglo-Saxon, altogether innocent as to his knowledge of what the laws of climate require, he indulges in unnecessary lament at what he considers the degenerate condition of his people, forming his opinions not from their lack of intelligence or manhood, but from their mode of life, their dress, their houses, and their speech, which he does not understand. He concludes that all these things are the result of the absence of Christianity, and of the lack of those appliances of civilization which he saw in America. He looks upon them as the evidence not only of the deterioration of his people, but of an almost hopeless degradation. He, therefore, sets himself to the accomplishment of an impossible task, undesirable if it were possible, to turn the African into an American, and into such an American as he takes himself to be. Looking upon himself as a teacher and missionary not only of religion, but of social and domestic customs, he aims at once at uprooting every thing un-American. And in contrast with what he regards as the causes of the wide-spread degradation of his people wherever he looks, he attaches an exaggerated importance to things American. And until very lately those persons were supposed to show to most advantage, and to be better fitted for the iconoclastic and reconstructive work, who could claim blood relationship with the dominant, or even with the aboriginal, race in America.

Now all these things are very natural with a people who have been for centuries in bondage to a foreign race, and shut out from all means of information. It requires time and numerous influences to rid them of these feelings, and very often death is the only effective reformer. The generation who lived in exile must pass away as the Egyptianized Israelites, unfitted for the work of building up an independent State, perished in the wilderness, and their children, though themselves almost fatally tainted, entered upon the inheritance.

But there are large numbers of Negro youth now getting trained in institutions of learning in the United States whose hearts are this moment yearning for their fatherland, and

many will no doubt find their way hither. It is of the utmost importance that they should understand what their position and duties must be here. They are of a race distinct from that of their masters and teachers, among whom they were born and brought up. America to them is a land of exile. In coming to Africa they will not be expatriating themselves, as some have so thoughtlessly alleged. Expatriation is from the fatherland alone. No length of residence in America will make them any thing else but Africans, with the instincts, though considerably impaired, of Africans, and with a specific part to perform in the work of human progress.

As a parasite upon the white man, the Negro, whether in America or in Africa, will accomplish nothing, and the work of civilization will be retarded. As a separate growth on its native soil, feeding upon the pure air of heaven in a region free from overshadowing forests, he will thrive and become reproductive; or, laying aside crude attempt at metaphor, the negro grown up into Christian manhood upon the basis of his own idiosyncracies will not only do his work, but have lessons to impart as well as to receive.

If it is expected, then, that a wholesome influence shall come over into this country from the institutions now devoting themselves to the training of blacks in the United States, it is important that these subjects should not be overlooked.

This great continent is to be regenerated, and to present to the world a new and important phase of civilization not yet dreamed of in the philosophy of the most advanced philanthropist, and not yet included in their most comprehensive humanitarian measures. We believe this is the opinion held by the most intelligent and thoughtful Christians. We are especially anxious, therefore, that the attention of young Negro students in America, who propose to devote themselves to work in Africa, and of their teachers, should be drawn to the specific work of the race.

Until recently the generality of Christians, taking the broad view of the unity of the human race, inferred from the apostle's declaration that "God hath made of one blood all nations," did not consider that any specific preparation was necessary for successful dealing with the different races. They did not take in the last part of the passage just quoted, that God, while he

has made of one blood all nations, hath also "appointed the bounds of their habitation," and that within those "bounds" the protracted operation of physical and moral causes has not only given to each its peculiar and indelible physical type, but has also impressed upon each certain intellectual peculiarities which require to be carefully studied and understood in order to effective dealing with them.

But juster views are now beginning to prevail. It is now seen that peculiarities of race cannot be ignored in dealing with a people in a primitive condition; that there are right and wrong ways of approaching a people; that men in different mental states and in different physical surroundings should be approached in different ways; that regard must be had to the history and antecedents of a people; that instruction should be conveyed in such a manner as to harmonize with their ideas and feelings in so far as those ideas and feelings are good and true; while at the same time it corrects judiciously, transforms, develops, and elevates them; and that prejudices must not be rudely assailed, but dealt with in a spirit of forbearance and conciliation.

These, we say, are principles which are now, more than ever before, receiving the attention of the leaders in philanthropic enterprises. And in the case of the American Negroes who come to instruct their African brethren, these general considerations derive additional force from the fact, that as they advance into the interior they will not meet a mere *tabula rasa.* They will be confronted by Mohammedan propagandists acquainted with the natural temperament, habits of thought, associations, and traditions of the people, with extensive experience in dealing with them, and whose unimpaired instincts and unaffected sympathies as Negroes qualify them to exert a wider and deeper influence than comparative strangers upon the vast area of heathendom.

It is on grounds such as these that while we rejoice at the superior advantages which are now being enjoyed by African youth in America, and while we earnestly desire to see them well-trained and highly educated Christians, we are especially anxious that they should be deeply imbued with a sense of their responsibilities as Negroes, and that in coming to Africa they should do so with a high feeling of the true dignity of

their future vocation, looking upon themselves as special instruments charged with the improvement, not of a strange race, but of their own kith and kin, and that they should avail themselves of that peculiar *rapport*—that bond of sympathy with the natives—which the prompt and the constant recognition of their near relationship, their common origin and destiny, will afford.

With such preparation, and imbued with such feelings, they will be able to perform effective work. They will not, as their predecessors on the ground have done for fifty years—and are still too much disposed to do—make a few settlements on the coast the principal scene of their activity; but they will really shape the views of the petty tribes who linger in the swamps on the coast; they will penetrate the interior, and shed the light of Christianity, and awaken thought, in the towns of Boporo, Palaka, Musardu, and Kankan. They will find the source of the Niger, and, sailing down that marvelous stream, spread intelligence on both sides. The whole of Nigritia will resound with their teaching, and, within a comparatively brief period, there will be a real advance of civilization on this continent.

But there is another drawback to our progress as a nation, and that lies in the weakness—not to say unsuitableness—of our Government. Although we are politically independent of the United States, whence we sprang, we have really founded no efficient or solid government of our own. Every thing is stamped with the image and superscription of America. The people still bear, and will likely bear for generations, the impress even of the localities in which, and of the class of Americans by whom—to use their own very descriptive phrase—they were "raised." Hence we sometimes see the sharpness of Yankeedom, the conservative pride of Maryland, the aristocratic mark of Virginia, the petulant and belligerent spirit of South Carolina; but to balance and regulate these we have not, unfortunately, in any appreciable degree, the Puritanism of Massachusetts or the Quakerism of Pennsylvania.

Such a state of things, as we have already said, is not to be wondered at. It would be wonderful if, after passing through the crucible of American oppression—the hard discipline of centuries—American Negroes came out from their fusion without change, retaining unimpaired the race peculiarities

and their African individuality. And it is not strange that in coming to this country and thrown among scenes where they believe every thing is to be changed, they should endeavor to reproduce every thing they saw in America, and should adopt, without hesitation or scruple as to their appropriateness, even the local peculiarities and sectional prejudices of the regions whence they emigrated—reproducing the very blunders of their teachers as flowers to adorn their political garden, and planting them often in the wrong places.

True, then, to our antecedent experiences, we have adopted a republican form of government. We have two political parties. At each general election, which takes place every two years, of course one party is left out of power. The successful party with the two years' lease of power suspended *in terrorem* over it repeats the tactics practiced every-where under such circumstances. It spends most of its time and energy in endeavoring to keep itself in office. Instead of looking at the exigencies of the country—at what the law is or ought to be—the Government is reduced to the necessity of contriving, maneuvering, and intriguing in order to acquire or retain influence. Thus a great deal of valuable time is wasted, and many important national interests neglected or sacrificed, not merely to secure the ascendency of party, but to protract by re-election the brief tenure of office allotted to the Chief Magistrate by the Constitution.

We have also a foreign national debt. In 1871 agents of the Liberian Government appeared in the British market and secured a national loan of five hundred thousand dollars. Had the Government possessed strength, or the administration greater permanence, that amount of money would have been of untold advantage to the country; but it was frittered away by the administration which came into possession of the money to suit the administrative exigencies and expediencies of the moment, leaving no trace of its presence in the country except the lamentable results of the disastrous party squabbles and the dark and scandalous conspiracies of which it was made the occasion.

The negotiation of that loan, which was an important step in the history of the country, was due to the foresight, energy, and activity of David Chinery, Esq., the late Consul General

and *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Republic of Liberia in London. It was the first time that Liberia had appeared as a borrower of money on the faith and credit of the nation; and in that important transaction she dealt not with irresponsible speculators, as it has been alleged, but with capitalists who, from interest in the experiment of conducting a civilized and Christian nation of Africans on this coast, advanced their money and became the creditors of the Republic, thus identifying their interests to a certain extent with those of the infant State. And from our personal knowledge of the bondholders, we are quite sure that in advancing their money they did not stipulate for any contingent profit in addition to the interest on their money and the development of the resources of a new and promising country. And, although they have thus far failed to get their interest as it has become due, they exercise remarkable patience with Liberia, and still have unbounded confidence in Mr. Chinery, showing that in the whole affair they have not felt themselves deluded by any implied or express misrepresentation on his part.

If the proceeds of the loan had been faithfully applied to the improvement of this valuable country—the construction of roads, the stipending of powerful chiefs, the payment of sufficient remuneration to honest and competent officials—the money would not only have produced an ample return, but would have made another and larger loan absolutely necessary, and the bondholders, having their confidence increased instead of impaired in the integrity of the Liberian Government, would have been ready to assist the Republic in the negotiation of another and, it may be, a larger loan to carry forward still greater improvements. But, managed under the influence of no clear or comprehensive principle, the loan has left us in a worse condition than before. And the feeling is increasing among all classes of the people that the work before this nation yet to be accomplished for education—for the aborigines—for the interior makes it absolutely necessary, notwithstanding all that has happened, that great effort should be made to secure the importation of foreign capital into the country.

The policy of prohibiting foreigners from owning real estate is becoming less and less popular, and the desire for the introduction of foreign capital in some form found expression in two enactments by the Legislature during its last session,

1875–'76. One was the extension of greater privileges to foreigners in the matter of leases, and the other was a proposed amendment to the Constitution, omitting the clause which restricts citizenship to persons of African descent.

So far as we can now see, it appears to us that the law enabling foreigners to hold real estate under extensive leases will be practically nugatory. Here and there an individual "adventurer"—to use the blunt phrase of the law—may avail himself of the privilege, but it may be doubted whether there will be, in view of all things, any very widespread application of foreign capital and energy to the resources of the country until the working of the Government and the general conduct of the institutions are so patently and reliably improved, as to afford to foreigners a guarantee of permanence and protection in their operations.

On the question of the constitutional amendment there is a diversity of opinion among the people; but, as far as we can gather, the prevailing feeling is one of opposition to the measure. It is contended by the supporters of the innovation that the only feasible method of importing European skill, interest, and activity into the country on any thing like an extensive and useful scale is by removing from the fundamental law of the land all invidious distinctions founded upon race or color. On the other hand it is argued that such unrestricted admission of foreigners into the political and social arrangements of the country would be a virtual surrender of all that has been striven for thus far in upholding the Republic; that that independence and that integrity of Liberia as a Negro State, which it is their wish to see perpetuated, will not only be seriously jeopardized, but destroyed. And we must confess that we cannot see how our legislators can introduce foreign capital, intelligence, and enterprise into the country, under any circumstances or on any condition, without incurring the serious risk of imperiling, or at least compromising, the independence of the nation by the almost inevitable interference of foreigners in our domestic affairs.

Under these circumstances, with a want of capital, intelligence, and energy staring us in the face, he would be a bold prophet who would venture to predict the ultimate success of Liberia. What, however, may be safely affirmed about Libe-

ria is, that her material capabilities, under the encouragement of judicious, patriotic, and honest administration, would soon free the Government, even without the introduction of foreign capital, from its chronic embarrassment, and keep the treasury supplied with far larger and surer resources than it has ever yet been able to command. There are Liberians of education, intelligence, and public spirit who feel the necessity of reform, but they are unfortunately few—daily, however, increasing in number; and before long the man may be placed at the head of affairs who not only possesses the requisite knowledge, courage, and energy to grapple with the evils, but who can bring to his support in the administration of the Government men of similar spirit.

A third source of weakness in Liberia, of which its most partial sympathizers can never deny the existence or disguise the importance, and which we should be glad if we could attribute to exceptional or other permanent causes, is the constant diminution and degeneracy of the population, both aboriginal and colonial. It is notorious that every town and village in Liberia is constantly dwindling in population, except the new settlements, which are kept up by accessions every year from the United States. In some towns which, not many years ago, were in a flourishing condition—notably Careysburgh, Harrisburgh, and Millsburgh—the desolation is painful. The only memorial of what twenty or thirty years ago was a prosperous settlement is now a crowded burial ground, or what would be a crowded burial ground if the heavy rains and the rapid growth of weeds did not obliterate all traces of the final resting places of those who were not long since the busy and hopeful workers in those almost deserted localities. The few survivors are spiritless and inactive, unable apparently to extract from a most generous soil the means to keep life in their worn and feeble bodies. Having scarcely any neighbors to compete with, the least industry seems to them tedious and superfluous. And, indeed, throughout the Republic, such is the sparseness of population in all the settlements that it seems impossible to excite that energy among the people which in all countries is due largely to the competition of numbers. The decrease and deterioration of population on this coast are owing to natural and insuperable causes, which science, inge-

nuity, and money may modify, but can never wholly eradicate. Residence in the dry and elevated regions of the interior is the only remedy for this element in the deficiency of Liberia, and the only means practically within the power of the Government for increasing and preserving its population.

ART. V.—THE FREEDMEN.

Reports of Freedmen's Bureau. Reports of Commissioner of Education, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875. *Reports oj American Missionary Association. History of American Missionary Association. Reports of the Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen. Reports of American Baptist Home Mission Society. Reports of Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

A GIANT wrong. A pigmy reparation. Two hundred and forty years of oppression and injustice toward God's poor. Fifteen years of prayers and money-giving for them. These fifteen years of humanity toward them are to the term of their bondage as one to sixteen. In time, one sixteenth; in amount, probably, not one sixteen thousandth. The compensation began to be made on the spot where the first slave ship entered the line of this continent. How strangely and widely contrasted the two events! The one, a system of wrongs, which, growing worse and worse by its inherent viciousness, continued for two and a half centuries, filling the fairest land of earth with avenging curses, and sending to Heaven the cries of millions of oppressed ones, until it culminated in a great civil war, which swept into its bloody vortex a million of men and more than five billions of dollars—the wealth piled up by centuries of unpaid labor. Look at the other. Mercy, in strictest line with the undoing of heavy burdens and the freeing of the oppressed, which Jesus came to do. Mercy, which should gather its inspiration and momentum from earth and heaven, and continue its benefactions until the compensation should equal the injury entailed; until all the resulting burdens of slavery are lifted from many hearts; until ignorance and debasement are displaced by culture; until vice and woe are supplanted by virtue and joy; until color-caste is stamped out, and the Freedman is as really *free* as the freest and the whitest. Selfishness and cupidity are the inspiration of the former system.

The latter is born of the purest benevolence. One is naked oppression. Uplifting the fallen and relieving the oppressed is the other. Of the one, we have read, in black letter, between shaded borders. We read of the other in illuminated letter, made radiant by the light of heaven.

To the American Missionary Association, then representing, and sustained by, nearly all the religious denominations, belongs the high honor of opening the first schools for the Freedmen. This occurred near Fortress Monroe, in Virginia. In September, 1861, Rev. Mr. Lockwood, a missionary of the Association, visited that part of Virginia to make investigations as to the condition of the Freedmen. They were there in large numbers—refugees from slavery—"contrabands," as Ben. Butler afterward happily designated them. He found the colored people assembled for prayer. They had been praying, and not in vain, when the skies above them were darker. Their sublime faith had never faltered. Their faith was now wonderfully quickened by rifts in the clouds, betokening the coming deliverance. It had been a long, weary night; but the morning approached. Mr. Lockwood's coming was accepted as the special answer to their prayers. Two weeks later, namely, September 17, 1861, *the first day-school for Freedmen was opened.* This was the dim dawn of what was soon to become bright noon. The teacher of that first school was Mrs. Mary S. Peake, the daughter of a colored woman and of an Englishman of rank and culture. That was the beginning—the acorn of this movement—which has become a sturdy oak for strength, and a pomegranate for the abundance of its fruit.

The projectors of this movement were those who were sustaining the American Missionary Association. Who were they? This Association was formed by a union of several religious denominations, including the Methodist Episcopal Church, which, as late as 1866, had had a representation in its direction, had contributed largely to its funds, and had furnished many teachers for the Freedmen's schools. In a convention of ministers and laymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, August 7th and 8th, 1866, this subject was carefully and thoroughly considered, especially the relation of this Church to voluntary and undenominational organizations for assisting the Freedmen. Out of that con-

vention came the organization of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In considering the subject *pro* and *con*, it was shown that the Methodist Episcopal Church informally, and by the action of members and ministers co-operating with union and undenominational Freedmen Associations, the American Missionary Association included, had been actively interested in the work for the Freedmen, as they had in the work of the Christian Commission. A few facts may be quoted from the proceedings of that convention in support of this view. It was stated, "Our Church has aided the efforts of the undenominational Freedmen's Aid Commissions of the country from their organization."

A paper was read at that convention by Rev. J. M. Walden, D.D., who had been officially connected with the "Western and North-western Freedmen's Aid Commission." A few extracts are made:—

> The membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been aiding these societies in prosecuting their work. . . . After efforts extending through the past two years and a half, the several undenominational societies have united in a National Commission, having its branches in the East and West. (And yet, already, several Churches had then organized, or were organizing, distinct Church Freedmen's Associations.) The United Presbyterians United Brethren, Friends, Old School Presbyterians, Baptist, Congregational, and Protestant Episcopal Churches, have organized societies within themselves, leaving the New School Presbyterian, and Methodist Episcopal Churches, the only Churches of any size which have continued their co-operation without division, with the Commission. . . . A large per cent. of the home collections (for Freedmen) came from the Methodist Episcopal Churches and people. During the first year about one hundred thousand dollars in cash have been collected in the West. I think I am safe in saying that not less than fifty per cent. of the whole amount has come from the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

While there were reasons existing at the time for the Methodist Episcopal Church to participate, if practicable, in so grand and catholic a work as those commissions, to have earlier turned away the Methodist Episcopal Church from sustaining them would leave them, it was thought, practically without support. When the Methodist Episcopal Church organized its Freedmen's Aid Society it did so leave them, and they languished and died. No one denomination of Christians,

then, can claim precedence over the others as having been first in the field, for all were unitedly engaged in it through the American Missionary and other associations. I propose to review the facts as to the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist Churches. While other Churches have not been idle, as the Friends, United Presbyterians, United Brethren, and Protestant Episcopal, yet their work has been on a less scale than that of the Churches before named, and it has not been equally convenient to obtain their statistics. In distinctive operations, as a Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church was later in beginning than some others; yet in zeal, and in the wonderful results of their efforts, they are not a whit behind the chiefest.

The American Missionary Association was formed in 1846, when slavery was in its full tide of power and progress. Its home department was conducted with a special view to preaching the Gospel, free from all complicity with slavery and caste. It claims the high distinction of beginning the first decided efforts on slave soil, and while slavery was in full feather, for the education and religious instruction of the people of the South on an avowedly antislavery basis. With certain modifications and restrictions this claim, as to modern efforts in that line, is admitted. But it would be historically untrue to admit the claim without any restriction. Down to 1824, the Methodist Episcopal Church had been doing such work, more or less, through all the South. Records can be produced from various places in the South, down to that time, showing that Church discipline was faithfully administered upon slaveholders who were such for gain or for oppression. This was true both as to private members and ministers. For many of the earlier years of the Republic, the Methodist Episcopal Church, as an *antislavery* Church, as bearing an unequivocal testimony against slavery, operated in every slave State. Since 1844, in Kentucky, Arkansas, Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and Missouri, the Methodist Episcopal Church has existed and operated as an antislavery Church. So much as this should be said in vindication of the truth of history.

In 1848 John G. Fee, a Kentuckian, whose father, a slaveholder, disinherited him for his pronounced antislavery views, organized a Church in Berea, Kentucky, under the auspices of

the American Missionary Association. From this beginning Berea College dates its existence. In 1851 and 1852 missionaries employed by this Association planted Churches in North Carolina and in Kansas. In 1859, with the raid of John Brown upon Harper's Ferry, a panic seized the South, under which these missionaries were expelled from North Carolina and Kentucky. The Association resumed its work on southern soil, as we have seen, in 1861, by organizing schools in Eastern Virginia to educate the Freedmen. That small beginning has been steadily followed up with growing numbers and success. In 1862 educational and religious efforts were extended at Hampton and vicinity. Large quantities of clothing were also distributed. A school was opened at Norfolk, two at Newport News, and others at Port Royal Islands. In May, 1862, a colored mission was begun at Washington City. During this year a colored school was commenced at Cairo, Illinois, where, since the opening of the Mississippi River, the colored people had begun to gather.

With the emancipation, in 1863, the work was much extended. Hundreds of intelligent Christian men and women volunteered as teachers and missionaries. These were from all the Churches. Among the first who went were Methodist teachers sent by Rev. Dr. J. M. Walden. The Methodist preachers were early upon the ground. The enthusiasm awakened in the North, in behalf of the late slaves, was intense. It was scarcely less than that by which, at an earlier date, the Union armies were reinforced, and the coffers and agencies of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions were replenished. Various Churches caught the inspiration, and began operations among the Freedmen through undenominational organizations. The work of the American Missionary Association was rapidly and widely extended. The school of 1862, at Norfolk, had very great enlargement. Twelve hundred attended the day sessions. Eight hundred were present at the night sessions, of whom fully one half were adults. Fifteen hundred were in the Sabbath-school, of whom five hundred were adults. With the fall of Vicksburgh, July 4, 1863, missionary and educational movements were begun in Kentucky and Tennessee, in President Island, and in Camp Fisk and Shiloh. In 1864 the Association employed two hundred and fifty missionaries and teachers, these

being one hundred and sixty-seven more than were employed in 1863, an increase of three hundred per cent. In 1865 a national council of Congregational Churches was held in Boston. They recommended the Churches to raise a quarter of a million of dollars in behalf of efforts for the Freedmen. They also designated the American Missionary Association as the organization providentially fitted for that work. This designation greatly increased educational and missionary labor among the Freedmen. It also made the American Missionary Association more distinctively an exponent of the Congregational Church, and less a non-denominational and union organization. The Presbyterian and other Churches soon after this organized their own Freedmen's Aid Societies. The number of teachers sent out by the American Missionary Association this year was three hundred and thirty, an increase of thirty-five per cent. In 1867 five hundred and twenty-eight teachers were employed, an increase of sixty per cent.

The bloody and terrifying tactics of the Ku Klux Klans, in 1868, much impeded the Freedmen educational movement, rendering it both difficult and dangerous. It will never be fully known in time through what embarrassment and suffering the work was maintained by the teachers in the field. They were proscribed, insulted, mobbed, and, in some instances, killed; yet the missionaries and teachers would not leave their posts. Their numbers exceeded those of any former year. But persecution, while it retarded, did not permanently injure the work. It was rather strengthened and consolidated than weakened. Churches and school buildings were burned, but others took their places. Striking instances are recorded. The following is authentic: Some school and church buildings had been burned in West Tennessee. They were rebuilt, and then again burned. Rev. Dr. Rust, Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, and Rev. E. P. Smith, of the American Missionary Association, went down together to see what could be done. They found the embers of the burning buildings still smoking. The teachers had gathered the pupils into a grove, and were teaching them there. The Ku Klux threatened to burn the grove if they did not desist from teaching the negroes and leave the country. The noble answer of these heroines deserves to be graven with lead in the rock. It

was this: "You have burned our school-houses and churches, and now you threaten to burn up the grove if we do not leave. We will not leave until you burn the ground under our feet." Such courage and constancy could not fail to win. The schools have been maintained until even Ku Klux infernalism has been forced to retire vanquished. The work assumed permanent character, crystallizing into higher institutions of learning, graded schools, normal schools, colleges, incipient universities, and theological classes.

The design of the American Missionary Association is, to plant a school of high grade in each principal city or center of population in the South, and one college or university in each of the large Southern States. This is, certainly, a most benevolent and worthy object; it is founded in the most intelligent philanthropy. This design has a fair prospect of being realized. The following statistics are in this line: Schools, 32; pupils, 7,209. Details as follows: Hampton Institute, Virginia, 243 pupils; Berea College, Kentucky, 271; Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, 226; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., 236; Talladega College, Talladega, Ala., 247; Tougaloo University, Tougaloo, Miss., 217; Straight University, New Orleans, La., 180; total, 1,620. These colleges have boarding facilities for 880 pupils. The total population in the States here named is seven and a half millions, of which 2,886,445 are colored. Institutions of lower grade, seventeen in number, are planted in North and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, and Texas. There are, also, eight common schools. The pupils in all these institutions are graded as follows, namely: Theological, 70; law, 17; collegiate, 60; collegiate preparatory, 191; normal, 1,354; grammar, 1,014; intermediate, 1,554; primary, 3,033. This Association has already educated 64,000 Freedmen. It is believed that 60,000 Freedmen are annually instructed as the result of agencies set in motion by the American Missionary Association.

In connection with these educational movements the Association has contributed religious activities and appliances which have yielded encouraging results. Churches have been planted, souls have been saved, vice has been repressed, virtue has been exalted, church buildings have been erected. Associations have been organized in East Virginia, in Texas,

in Louisiana, in Tennessee, and in Georgia. The following results in this line of labor are tabulated: Missionaries, 48; teachers, 150; matrons, 9; in business departments, 15; total number of workers in the field, 223; churches, 58; church members, 4,222; Sabbath-school scholars, 7,981. The property created in the South by this organization must be considerable. It is to be regretted that its value is not stated. The endowment funds amount to $368,815, yielding an annual income of $9,861 09, or about two and a half per cent. The money expended by the American Missionary Association for evangelizing and educating the Freedmen amounts to some $3,000,000. Of this, probably $1,000,000 in money and clothing have been contributed from Great Britain.

As the Congregationalists designated the American Missionary Association their agent in 1865, four years after the work among the Freedmen had been commenced by the Association, then receiving the co-operation of many, perhaps, most, of the denominations, their gross contributions to the cause must fall considerably below two millions of dollars.

The Presbyterian Church has disbursed its charities to the Freedmen through the "Presbyterian Committee of Missions for Freedmen." This Church began its distinctive work among the Freedmen in 1865. To its general purposes all the Church boards contributed, as the Board of Publication, of Domestic Missions, and of Church Extension. The statistical tables show a regular increase of contributions, missionaries, colored laborers; of schools, churches, Sabbath-schools, and church edifices. From 1865 to 1870 the receipts of this organization averaged $27,000 per year, of which *the colored Churches and schools contributed* $6,000 *per year.* The expenditures averaged about $49,000 per year, entailing a heavy debt. The increase of contributing Churches during the first five years was fifty-seven per cent.; of missionaries, sixty-five per cent.; of schools, one hundred and thirty-two per cent.; of pupils, one hundred and two per cent.; of Churches, ten hundred and fifty per cent.; of church edifices, one thousand per cent.; of communicants, nine hundred per cent.

The object of the Presbyterian Freedmen Committee is to cultivate intelligence and piety among the Freedmen by planting and maintaining among them the Church and school con-

jointly; that is, carrying forward in the same place a church and a day-school. This specialty of parochial schools distinguishes the Presbyterian movement from all others in the South, except that of the Roman Catholics.

The contributions exceeded in 1870 the average of those of the preceding five years forty per cent. In 1871 the increase was, of Churches, forty per cent.; of members, forty-six per cent.; of Sabbath-schools, eight per cent.; of Sabbath-school scholars, eight per cent.; of schools, a *decrease* of seventy per cent. is noted and of seventeen per cent. of pupils, showing that the increase of the missionary work proper, Churches and members, was greater than of the educational. But while the schools had numerically diminished, they had improved in grade; and primary schools had given place to academies, institutes, seminaries, and normal schools. A like gratifying increase is noted in succeeding years. Value of churches and school properties in 1872, $113,057; in 1873, $119,677; in 1874, $126,785; in 1875, $128,845; in 1876, $134,810. The aggregate increase in Church members is 2,264, or about thirty per cent. The present statistics are: Churches, 128; members, 9,952; Sabbath-schools, 107; Sabbath-school scholars, 7,009; day-schools, 39; teachers in day-schools, 65; scholars, 3,776. These schools are strictly parochial. Besides these there are five higher schools, namely:—

	Prof's.	Ass't. Prof's.	Pupils.	Value of Property.
Biddle Memorial Institute, Charlotte, N. C.	3	3	124	$17,000
Scotia Seminary for Colored Girls, Concord, N. C.	.	.	105	2,500
Wallingford Academy, Charleston, S. C.	1	.	261	13,458
Mainerd School, Chester, S. C	1	.	231	3,000
Fairfield Normal School, Winnsborough, S. C.	1	.	184	3,500
Total	6	3	905	$40,058

The whole amount expended by the Presbyterian Church for the Freedmen in eleven years is $483,560 42, an average sum per year of $43,960 03. The Presbyterian Freedmen's higher schools are in two States, having an area of 87,704 square miles, and a population of 1,776,967, of whom about one half, 807,464, are colored.

A little later to enter the field as a distinct organization, though, as we have seen, her members had been actively, liberally, and warmly identified with the work from the beginning—

Dr. Walden having sent out Methodists among the first Freedmen teachers commissioned—the Methodist Episcopal Church has displayed equal earnestness and persistence as her illustrious colaborers. She has distanced them in the amount of her offerings to the cause, in the extent of her operations, and in the general results. To show this, however, it should be observed, that unlike the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, who tabulate all their Church and educational work in connection with their respective Freedmen organizations, the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church operates only in the educational line, and records only educational expenditures and results. The Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church does its own work in its own line in the South among Freedmen and whites. The Annual Conferences carry forward missionary, evangelistic, and Church work in the South among white and colored.

The Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has appropriated, for donations and loans, in the Southern Conferences, not including Baltimore, Delaware, nor Wilmington, $354,082 09, so aiding 769 Churches. Rev. Dr. Kynett, Secretary of this Society, deems that two thirds of the money, and three fourths of the Churches, in the South are for the Freedmen. Thus, $229,388 07 have been applied for the Freedmen, assisting 577 of their Churches. The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has expended in the South since 1864 $1,696,142 76, an average annual sum of $154,194 79. Of this aggregate, $1,290,363 53 have been expended for the benefit of Freedmen, an average annual sum of $107,530 28.

The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized August, 1866, and began its operations in the South in October of the same year. This organization has wrought for a single object, the relief and uplifting of the Freedmen through Christian education. It has sought this object, not so much by educating the Freedmen *en masse*, as by training teachers from among them who should in turn teach others of their own race. As self-help is the best help, the Freedmen's Aid Society have been pursuing their benevolent object in the wisest way.

The amount raised and expended by the Freedmen's Aid So-

ciety is $582,006 90, an average sum per year of $64,666 30. This society early demonstrated the capacity of the colored people to acquire education. In the first three years of its existence it had greatly contributed to the introduction of common schools in the South, and had employed one hundred devoted Christian teachers, who had earnestly and successfully wrought for the elevation of the Freedmen. Schools were located where they were most needed, and where it was deemed they would be most useful. Seven were opened in Tennessee, twenty in Georgia, five in Alabama, two in Kentucky, eight in Mississippi, one in North Carolina, nine in South Carolina, and three in Virginia; in all sixty. An orphans' home was founded in Louisiana, where more than a hundred homeless, fatherless children had then been gathered and taught. Fifty-two teachers were employed the first year, seventy-two the second, and one hundred and five the third. Of enrolled scholars, the numbers were five thousand the first year, seven thousand the second year, and ten thousand the third. Normal schools had been established, and teachers had been trained. This has been a specialty from the beginning. At an early moment sites for colleges, and for training and theological schools, were selected and secured, and the schools projected. Experience has fully vindicated the wisdom of the selections made, the result of one mind overlooking the whole field and establishing these centers of light and power where they would most surely fulfill all the mission designed by them. In this one particular, it is my deliberate judgment, there is ample compensation for all the money expended in the field by the Freedmen's Aid Society.

To Rev. Dr. Rust, the devoted secretary of this society from the beginning, too much credit cannot be given. His wisdom, his experience as an educator, and his profound sympathy with this cause, have eminently fitted him for the successful service he has rendered. His official record is glorious.

In 1872, after five years of effort, many school-houses and Churches had been assisted, the Church structures serving the double purpose of a place for divine worship and instruction; the Freedmen's Aid Society had taught more than forty thousand pupils in the day-schools, and nearly as many in the Sunday-schools; had led thousands of souls to Christ; had trained hundreds for teaching, and scores for the ministry of the Gospel.

More than $300,000 had been expended for education among the Freedmen, of which $150,000 had been permanently and economically invested in school property. In 1873 it was shown that during the preceding six years an average of sixty Christian teachers had been sustained in the southern field, who had devoted themselves to the elevation of the Freedmen with singular zeal and earnestness. Forty common schools had been assisted, and fifteen higher institutions and colleges had been sustained, in which three thousand pupils had been taught. In 1874 fifty thousand pupils had been instructed, and many thousand were annually being taught by those trained in the Freedmen's Aid Society's normal and collegiate schools. The general review as the years go by shows grand achievements in the elevation of the race. Forty thousand children were taught during the year 1875 by those trained in the society's schools. Marked progress of the pupils is noted in every branch of culture; progress also in the multiplication of Christian and evangelistic agencies, and in the securing of permanent institutions, chartered and manned and effective, the aggregate value of which is, probably, a quarter of a million of dollars. Of the higher institutions of learning the following is the list:—

Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tennessee; Shaw University, Holly Springs, Miss.; Claflin University and Baker Institute, Orangeburgh, S. C.; Clarke University and Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.; New Orleans University and Thomson Biblical Institute, New Orleans, La.; Wiley University, Marshall, Texas; Haven Normal School, Waynesborough, Ga.; Rust Biblical and Normal Institute, Huntsville, Ala.; La Teche Seminary, Baldwin, La.; Bennett Seminary, Greensborough, N. C.; Richmond Normal School, Richmond, Va.; Cookman Institute, Jacksonville, Fla.; Centenary Biblical Institute, Baltimore, Md.; Orphans' Home, Baldwin, La.

These institutions have twenty-six professors employed in giving instruction to probably fifteen hundred pupils. They are planted most centrally and advantageously for the work they have to do. They cover an area of 890,224 square miles, and they are planted in States having an aggregate population of nearly twelve millions, of whom four millions six hundred and thirty thousand are colored. Already these centers of learning and training are making visible impress on the Freedmen. Progress is noted in every department. Improvement is recorded in "manners, morals, science, character, and Chris-

tian attainments." In their effect upon teaching and preaching these institutions are displaying their grandest usefulness. Only those who visit the South frequently, or who reside there, can fully appreciate these signs of promise. Their testimony is very clear and strong.

The Freedmen's work among the Baptists was carried on, prior to 1869, as an undistinguishable part of its regular home missions. That year it was assigned, separately, to a secretary, to be called the "Education and Southern Department." During the year previous to that the Baptists were much divided, and less than 5,500 had been received for the schools that year. During the next four years the receipts were: In 1870, $37,007; 1871, $55,993; 1872, $49,260; 1873, $57,400; total, $199,660. An average of $49,915 a year. In addition to this, about $100,000 went to this school work during the same period, (such as Freedmen Bureau grants, etc., through influences brought to bear by the society.) This latter sum did not pass through its treasury; but adding this, it makes an average of $75,000 a year, or $300,000 which went to the Freedmen school work during the four years named. In 1874, $77,063; 1875, $68,769 47; 1876, $70,981; total, $216,813 47. If to this sum be added what has been done among the Freedmen through the Church Edifice Funds, and by the purely missionary and religious donations bestowed before and during the term designated, say $200,000, the aggregate expended for the Freedmen by the Baptists is, say $716,473.

Resulting from all this outlay there are seven higher institutions of learning, as follows: Wayland Seminary, Washington, D. C., 1 professor, 92 pupils; Richmond Institute, Richmond, Va., 1 professor, 75 pupils; Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C., 1 professor, 230 pupils; Estey Building, Raleigh, ——; Benedict Institute, Columbia, S. C., 1 professor, 118 pupils; Augusta Institute, Augusta, Ga., 1 professor, 52 pupils; Nashville Institute, Nashville, Tenn., 1 professor, 136 pupils; Leland University, New Orleans, La., 1 professor, 92 pupils; total, 795. The States here named have an area of 229,750 square miles, and a population of 6,303,377, of which 2,599,936 are colored. The value of this property is not stated. It must be considerable. I estimate it at $200,000. Besides this, an endowment fund is noted, amounting to $22,604. It is proposed to sus-

tain these Freedmen schools, by current contributions to them, until each has an endowment fund of from $50,000 to $100,000. A marked feature in the Baptist Freedmen operations is the special item of legacies for the Freedmen's work. In 1874, $877 43; in 1875, $1,737 10; in 1876, $2,377, are noted as paid from legacies.

The contributions from co-operating Churches in the Southern States in 1876 were $12,895; from Churches receiving aid, $2,580. Missionaries in that field, 69. Sabbath-school scholars, 5,412.

Aggregating the results of these outlays of labor and money and prayers by the Churches indicated, we have:—

American Missionary Association, now Congregationalist: schools, 32; pupils, 7,209, of which seven are universities and colleges, with an enrollment of 1,620 pupils; churches, 58; Church members, 4,222; Sunday-school scholars, 7,981; expended for Freedmen, $3,000,000, of which probably $1,000,000 in money and clothing were contributed from Great Britain.

Presbyterian Church: ministers, 39; catechists, 27; churches, 128; members, 9,916; Sunday-school scholars, 7,009; schools of all kinds, 44; teachers, 65; pupils, 3,776; value of property, including church and school properties, $134,810.

Methodist Episcopal Church: higher institutions, 13; professors, say 26; pupils, 1,500; value of school property, $250,000. Churches, 129; parsonages, 146; value of both, $2,599,027; value of all, $2,849,027. Traveling preachers, 1,055; local preachers, 2,058; total, 3,199; members, 185,245. Expended for the Freedmen by the Missionary Society, $1,290,363 53; Church Extension Society, $229,383 07; Freedmen's Aid Society, $582,006 90; total, $2,101,753 50.

Thus we have, by all the Churches and voluntary Freedmen Associations, as follows:—

Higher institutions: Baptists, 7, pupils, 807; Congregationalists, 7, pupils, 1,620; Presbyterian, 5, pupils, 905; Methodist Episcopal Church, 13, pupils, 1,500; all other Churches, say 7; pupils, 1,000. Total institutions, 39; total pupils, 5,832.

Schools of less grade: Baptists, 10, estimated attendance, 500; Congregational, 25, attendance, 5,589; Presbyterian, 34, attendance, 2,801. Total schools, 69; total attendance, 8,890.

CHURCH STATISTICS.

Denominations.	Ch's.	Ministers.	Members.	S. Schools.	Scholars.
Baptist	200	65	25,000	100	5,412
Congregationalist	58	48	4,222	130	7,981
Presbyterian	128	37	9,916	130	7,009
M. E. Church	1,729	3,199	185,245	1,500	140,000
Total	2,115	3,349	224,383	1,860	160,402

Expended in the field:[*] Baptists, say $716,473; American Missionary Association, $3,000,000; Presbyterian Church, $483,560 42; M. E. Church, $2,101,753 50; Friends, say $200,000; all other Churches, estimated, 350,000; Freedmen's Bureau, (U. S. Government,) $12,965,395 40; Peabody Fund,[†] $1,000,000; total, $20,817,182 32.

The gross amount expended in thirteen years for the Freedmen will not exceed twenty millions of dollars, an average per year of $1,538,461. The aggregate sum for each freed person $4 44, or 34 cents per year for each.

These Freedmen have augmented the material wealth of this nation by billions of dollars, yet we requite all their wasting toil through centuries of oppression by doling out for them $4 44 each, or 34 cents per year per person. God keeps account for them. He will exact fair payment. If it is not made honestly, cheerfully, it will be wrung from our reluctant hands until the uttermost farthing is paid.

The smallness of this contribution for the improvement and elevation of the Freedmen is seen still more impressively when a few general facts as to illiteracy are considered.

Of 38,558,371, the entire population of the United States, the Territories and the District of Columbia included, by the

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[*] All these sums should be somewhat reduced. How much as to each it is impossible to say. In the earlier movements among the Freedmen, the Freedmen's Bureau supplemented the gifts of voluntary societies by appropriations made through those societies. It may be that those appropriations amount to half a million, possibly to three fourths of a million of dollars.

[†] It is difficult to say, specifically, how much of this sum has gone directly for the education of the Freedmen. A letter from the venerable agent of this fund, dated April 26, 1877, says: "For ten years the Peabody Education Fund has paid an average of $100,000 for each year for schools in the Southern States. As we make no distinction of races, and as the reports made to us sometimes do and sometimes do not, I cannot make even an approximate estimate of the amount paid for Freedmen."

CHURCH STATISTICS.

Denomination.	Ch's.	Ministers.	Members.	S. Schools.	Pupils.
Baptist..............	208	98	25,000	790	4,412
Congregationalist......	88	49	4,377	150	7,000
Presbyterian..........	138	27	8,716	120	1,872
M. E. Church........	1,729	2,189	176,349	1,500	136,416
Total............	2,163	2,349	214,442	1,499	149,412

Expended in the field:* Baptists, say $716,178; American Missionary Association, $2,000,000; Presbyterian Church, $183,569 42; M. E. Church, $2,101,713 82; Friends, say $200,000; all other Churches, estimated, $50,000; Freedmen's Bureau, (U. S. Government,) $13,965,309 40; Peabody Fund,† $1,000,000; total, $20,317,153 22.

The gross amount expended in thirteen years for the Freedmen will not exceed twenty millions of dollars, an average per year of $1,538,461. The aggregate sum for each freed person $4 44, or 34 cents per year for each.

These Freedmen have augmented the material wealth of this nation by billions of dollars, yet we requite all their exacting toil through centuries of oppression by doling out for them $4 44 each, or 34 cents per year per person. God keeps account for them. He will exact fair payment. If it is not made honestly, cheerfully, it will be wrung from our reluctant hands until the uttermost farthing is paid.

The smallness of this contribution for the improvement and elevation of the Freedmen is seen still more impressively when a few general facts as to illiteracy are considered.

Of 28,383,271, the entire population of the United States, the Territories and the District of Columbia included, by the last census, 12,135,799, or thirty-one and a half per cent., cannot read nor write. In the Northern States, from five to eleven per cent. are thus illiterate; in the middle northern States, from twelve to twenty per cent.; in the middle Southern States, from twenty-one to thirty-nine per cent.; in the Southern States, from forty to fifty-nine per cent. In those Southern States where the colored population is the greatest, over sixty per cent. of the whole population cannot read nor write. Dividing by east, west, and south, we have:—

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* All these sums should be somewhat reduced. How much so in each it is impossible to say. In the earlier movements among the Freedmen, the Freedmen's Bureau supplemented the gifts of voluntary societies by appropriations made through those societies. Doubtless in this case, appropriations amounted to half a million, possibly to three fourths of a million, of dollars.

† It is difficult to say, specifically, how much of this sum has gone directly for the education of the Freedmen. A letter from the indefatigable Agent of this Fund, dated April 18, 1878, says: "For ten years the Peabody Education Fund has paid an average of $100,000 for each year for schools in the Southern States. As we make no distinction of races, and as our reports made to us from States and committees do not, I cannot make even an approximate estimate of the amount paid for Freedmen."

Eastern and Middle States,*	total population,	12,303,534.	Cannot read, 478,606.
Western States,*	" " "	12,023,629.	" " 409,175.
Southern States,*	" " "	13,878,435.	" " 3,550,425.

The per centage of the illiterate is: Eastern and Middle States, 3.8 per cent.; Western States, 3.4 per cent.; Southern States, 25.5 per cent., or eight times greater per centage of illiterates in the Southern States than in the Eastern, Western, and Middle States.

The illiteracy of the voting population is greater still:—

Eastern and Middle States,	voting population,	2,747,694.	Cannot read, 226,592.
Western States,	" " "	2,644,875	" " 217,403.
Southern States,	" " "	2,914,736	" " 1,137,303.

In the Middle, Eastern, and Western States, eight and one half per cent. of the voters cannot read. In the Southern States over thirty-nine per cent. cannot read.

A like disparity is seen as to the amounts expended in all the States and in sections for education. The total amount received and expended in all the States for education is $82,000,000, or $2 15 per annum to each one of the whole population; or $6 75 to each one of the population of school age. Of this $82,000,000, $69,247,700 are raised and expended for common schools in the Northern, Middle, and Western States, or about $9 40 to each one of the population of school age. In the Southern States, $12,252,300, or $2 68 to each one of school age. In the section where the illiteracy is thirty-two per cent. the greater, the amount applied to change that condition is relatively thirty-four per cent. less. Take a few contrasts. In Massachusetts $16 is expended for every one of school age in that State; in South Carolina, $1 13; in Illinois, over $8;

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* Not including all the Territories.

in North Carolina, 40 cents; in Ohio, $11; in Georgia 45 cents.

It is granted that these are extreme cases on both sides, but the other Southern States are not much better off. In Texas it is only forty-eight cents to each person of school age.

Take a few facts as to normal schools. As these are sustained, and do thorough work in training teachers, the outlook is promising. In the Southern States, where the illiteracy is thirty-two per cent. the greater, there are 36 normal schools, and in the Northern States 80; in the former 106 teachers, in the latter 325; in the former 1,627 pupils and graduates, in the latter 11,330. There are 118 per cent. more schools, 200 per cent. more teachers, and 600 per cent. more pupils and graduates in the Northern than in the Southern States: that is, of persons qualified to teach there are 600 per cent. more in the Northern States, where they are so much less required, than in the Southern. Or, to state it differently, there is one normal school to every 130,555 of the school population, and one teacher to every 2,883 of school age in the South; and in the North one school to every 97,428 of the school age population, and one normal teacher for every 662 of school age population.

In 1870 and 1871 the benefactions bestowed by individuals for educational purposes amounted in the northern States to $8,391,000, in the Southern States to $279,000, or 3,000 per cent. more in the Northern States than in the Southern for higher education.

A similar startling disparity is seen as to the number of colleges and college pupils in the sections considered. The graduates of a country are those in it best qualified to teach and to develop its resources. It will be seen that as to normal schools and trained teachers, so as to colleges and college pupils and graduates, the South is very far behind the North. This would be true, as we shall see, if the colleges, North and South, were of equal grade and thoroughness; but, relatively, while there are, doubtless, some exceptions, the colleges in the South are inferior to those in the North, some of the former not ranking higher than a seminary or academy would rank in the North.

In the North there are 228 colleges, 2,318 professors, 35,606 pupils, or one college to every 33,000 of the school-age population, and one college pupil to every 208 of the school-age

population. In the South there are 140 colleges, 886 professors, 15,635 pupils, or one college to every 34,000 of the school-age population, and one college pupil to every 293 of the school-age population.

The denominational character of the various higher institutions, North and South, is as follows, namely: In the South, Roman Catholic, 19; State institutions, 15; denominations unknown, 36—in all, 70. Protestant, 62. The State and the unknown added to the Roman Catholic exceed the Protestant by eight. If one half of the unknown and the State institutions are Romanist, then there are three quarters as many Romanist colleges in the South as Protestant. In the North, Roman Catholic colleges and universities, 32; denominations unknown, colleges and universities, 12; State colleges and universities, 27—in all, 71. Protestant, 144.

The relative illiteracy of sections of the Republic presents some very striking and suggestive facts. Persons from ten years old and upward in the United States who are illiterate, 5,643,534. Distributed aggregates: Northern division, 1,353,205; Pacific division, 102,594; Southern division, 4,187,735. Of illiterate male adults there are 1,585,000, of whom 743,402 are whites, and 841,942 are colored, who are voters or who may become voters. Of illiterate minors, that is, of those between the ages of ten and twenty-one years who cannot read nor write, there are 2,000,000, of whom 1,700,000, or about 85 per cent., are in the South. Of these 1,700,000, almost two thirds are white. Over 60 per cent. of the colored population cannot read nor write. In Alabama only 35 per cent. of the white school-age population and of the colored school-age population attend school. These proportions will not vary much in any of the late slave States.

As showing some of the provisions made by law, or existing in fact, to remedy this condition of deplorable and alarming ignorance, the following statements are offered. They are specially furnished the writer by General Eaton, United States Commissioner of Education. "In Arkansas, Florida, and Texas, containing a school population of 733,000, no separate report is made of the colored school population, nor of the schools maintained for the colored people; and there is, therefore, no special provision for their education, except that three

high-schools for colored pupils are reported from Florida. In Alabama, 43,229 colored pupils are reported in 1,288 schools under 1,286 colored teachers; in Georgia, 55,268 colored pupils in public schools, and 4,276 in other schools; in Kentucky, where schools for colored children have been only a short time in operation, about 18,000 such children in 340 reported schools, with 338 colored teachers; in Maryland, 16,947 colored pupils in public schools, out of a colored population of 175,391; in Mississippi, 89,813 colored pupils in public schools, under 2,109 colored teachers; in Missouri, 14,832 colored pupils in public schools, schools for them numbering 326; in North Carolina, 55,000 colored pupils in 1,200 public schools; in South Carolina, 63,415 colored pupils in public schools, with 855 colored; in Tennessee, 770 schools for colored children, with 781 colored teachers for a colored school population of 106,241; in Virginia, 54,941 colored pupils in 1,064 public schools, with 539 colored teachers; in West Virginia, 2,461 colored children in 63 public schools."

It would seem that great responsibility attaches to all the people of the United States. All sections are alike interested, because all are bound up together in political, commercial, and domestic relations. If disaster comes to the body politic, all parts inevitably participate.

The facts set forth in this paper are not so complete as could have been wished. It has been difficult to procure some, and impossible to obtain others, that were sought. This has been true as to the work of the Roman Catholics among the Freedmen. Beyond what is given as to the Roman Catholic colleges, nothing has been found. While the record of several of the Churches has shown a somewhat tolerable appreciation of the claims of the Freedmen upon the Christian philanthropy of the American people, yet it is far below what it should have been. The Methodist Episcopal Church, which has done more than any other in the cause, has averaged thirteen cents per member per year for the Freedmen during the eleven years she has been in the field. Yet, considering the greatness of her obligations, and the grand results secured upon the relatively small outlay, the future should far exceed the past in the amount and character of our benefactions for this people. Especially should large sums be raised to establish liberal edu-

cational foundations in all the higher institutions of learning for the Freedmen. More should be done than to pay current expenditures for sustaining these colleges. Every one of them should be well endowed. Thus will our benevolence be most wisely directed, and most permanent in its fruits. There is no doubt in my mind that the United States Government should establish common schools for the Freedmen, and endow them with a sufficient foundation. It has done this *for the whites* by setting apart public lands for common schools in all the States; but when this was done the Freedmen were not provided for. They are not yet. The school funds of several of the late slave States have been greatly depreciated, if not entirely lost, by the war. Where this has not been the case, yet color caste, and poverty combined, render the education of the Freedmen doubtful and imperfect. If it was right to emancipate the slaves, it is right to enable them to maintain their freedom. This cannot be done without education. Enfranchised, the safety of our institutions demands that they be educated.

ART. VI.—METHODISM IN THE CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

CITIES are centers of civilization. A great nation cannot exist without them. Jerusalem was the seat of the Jewish kingdom. The magnificence and power of Egypt centered in Memphis and Thebes. Nineveh was the glory of the Assyrian, and Babylon of the Chaldean empire. Athens was Greece, and the city of the Tiber was Rome. Modern cities are not less potent. Their power is bold, subtle, multiform, far-reaching. London is England's heart, and its throbs are felt by the extremities of the United Kingdom. Paris is the light and pride of France. New York shapes the commercial and financial destinies of America. The burning of a part of Chicago sent a shudder through the land, and saddened the nations of a distant hemisphere. Every great city is the focus of so many influences that its extinction would cause wide-spread disaster and lamentation.

In the great city every form of human life exists. There poverty shivers, and ignorance grovels, and wealth builds its palaces. There science sheds its benignant influence, and art displays her beauty. There literature opens its refreshing fountains, and charity reaches her hand to the needy and weeps over the perishing. There pleasure invites to gay and gilded halls, and music pours enchanting strains. There poetry weaves divinest numbers, and eloquence sways admiring multitudes. There vice shows all its hideousness, and religion shines in its fairest loveliness.

Every aspiring movement is ambitious to become a part of the mighty force of the great city. This is equally true of enterprises that seek the welfare and those that aim at the injury of the race. Great cities are the Thermopylæs of the world. They are the last fortresses of humanity. Vanquished there, truth will go down in final defeat. Victorious there, it will triumph over the earth. Therefore, he who marshals hosts to the conflict, whether for or against the right, cannot ignore the city. Except the strongholds yield there can be no decisive conquest.

The Captain of our salvation early fixed his eye upon the city. When but twelve years of age he began to teach in Jerusalem. In the city and its suburbs he performed his public labors. The two most momentous events of Christianity—the crucifixion and the resurrection of Jesus Christ—did not transpire in an obscure hamlet, but in the populous metropolis of Judea. When the risen Master sent forth his disciples to preach the Gospel to all the world, he caused them to begin the proclamation in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, too, amid the fiery tongues and rushing sounds of the Pentecost, the Church received the equipment for its warfare and won its first great victory. From the gates of the sacred city it marched with shoutings to the conquest of the nations.

The Church of the apostles was chiefly in cities. So markedly was this so that Renan was almost justified in saying, "This proselytism was confined to cities. The first Christian apostles did not preach in the country." Damascus, Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, Athens, Jerusalem, Ephesus, Rome, are conspicuous in the records of Christian propagandism in the apostolic age. In those great centers of life and thought the

Church lifted her banners, and thence advanced upon the surrounding regions.

Throughout its history the Church has devoted its best resources to the cities. It has given them its treasures. In them it has employed its highest skill, culture, and learning. There it has reared its grandest temples and gathered its greatest assemblies. There it has exercised its loftiest gifts of music and eloquence. There it has printed its Bibles and produced its literature. The great cities of Christendom are to-day towering bulwarks of the Christian faith. They are fountains of evangelic life whence roll the streams that gladden the moral deserts of the world and make them to blossom as the rose.

American Methodism began its career in a city. Without prestige, culture, numbers, wealth, or patronage, it boldly sounded its first trump in the commercial metropolis of the continent. It did not put its candle under a bushel, but on a candlestick. A city set upon a hill cannot be hid. Had Methodism, after a careful survey of the territory, selected New York as the scene of its initial movement in the New World, it would have earned a claim to high sagacity. But as the fortunate place of its beginning was not due to human design, but to providential guidance, the praise must all be ascribed to Him who leads his people like a flock.

Since the founding of Methodism in New York the American Republic was born. In the genial air of freedom the nation has grown from three to forty-three millions, and its giant arms have embraced the shores of the two great oceans. Cities have risen and flourished. Provincial towns have suddenly swelled into vast centers of population, commerce, and wealth. From twenty thousand inhabitants the city of New York has developed into metropolitan grandeur, with more than a million souls. From similar dimensions Philadelphia has advanced to nearly equal magnitude. From nothing Brooklyn has risen to the third in population of American cities. On the lonely and wild prairie, washed by the waves of Lake Michigan, the daring hand of Yankee enterprise has built in half a life-time a city which is among the first in trade and splendor—pride of a continent—wonder of the world—Chicago.

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Beginning in a city, American Methodism has advanced into all the cities of the land. It has grown with the cities. Its vigor has been equal to the demands of their rapid and vast development. In them it has purchased sites, and built sanctuaries for the people at immense cost of money and skill. In them it preaches to hundreds of thousands of willing hearers. In them its Sunday-schools impart religious truth and moral instruction to an equal number of children and youth. It illumines with gospel radiance the mansions and garrets of our populous centers; visits the sick, feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, makes the poor rich in faith, and the sorrowful joyful with the comfort of God. Nay, more. In nearly all the great cities of the United States Methodism has put its presses in motion, and in tracts, weekly papers, magazines, and books, it thence scatters its generous and quickening theology, its experience and its songs, employing in this work to-day a capital of a million and a half of dollars. Thus it nourishes the nation's intellect while stirring its mighty heart. Thus it has made great cities the magazines whence its hosts draw their ammunition.

Methodism had a hard struggle for recognition in New York, and other of the older cities. It met not only the hostility of the world, but the contemptuous aversion of the Churches. It, however, maintained the ground in New York, though alternating between victory and defeat, until 1790, when in eight weeks it won four hundred converts to Christ. In thirty-seven years after the first society was formed there were a thousand members in the city; and in fifty years the number was 2,572, nearly a third of whom were colored. Founded by a German-Irish carpenter, and its ministrations chiefly confined to the poor and lowly, it was not until 1821 that the Methodist Church was able to compel the favorable notice of aristocratic New York. In that and the following year John Summerfield was stationed in the city, and his preaching awakened the wondering admiration of all classes. Summerfield, youthful, graceful, seraphic—with a voice whose tones were suggestive of the murmurs of angels' harps; an eye, that beamed with celestial light; a hand that swayed the crowd like a scepter from the skies; Summerfield—clad in the beauty of holiness, eloquent in every movement and utterance, master of the heart, whose audiences no church could hold, the gentlest, sweetest, most captivating pulpit orator America has seen; Summerfield

—more than half a century dead, but whose memory sheds a perfume through the Church that pulsates with a deathless power. Summerfield lifted the Methodist pulpit of New York before the eyes of all the people, and as many of every rank as could crowd around him sat with delight under the spell of his inspired eloquence.

The denomination was, however, jealous of any disposition of the cities to monopolize its best preachers. It showed this by enacting a law that no preacher should remain in any city more than four years at a time, and it is only about twenty years since it was abolished. The most powerful preachers of early Methodism, such as M'Kendree, George, Lee, Bascom, Fisk, Bigelow, Pitman, Olin, devoted their eloquence chiefly to the country. Yet there was wisdom in this method of the fathers. Society was forming. The foundations of a mighty republic were being laid. The expanding energies of the young nation needed to feel in every part the shaping hand of an evangelical, spiritual Church. A rich agricultural land, the greater part of the population was, and would continue to be, outside the cities. It was a great boon to the country that such intellectual and spiritual giants went forth to lead the praying and shouting hosts of Methodism over the continent. The refining and ennobling influence of their labors upon America's gathering millions can never be fully told. One of the results is that in nearly all the States Methodism is predominant. It might not have been so had the best talent of the denomination been given chiefly to the large cities.

At the beginning of Methodism in America the social power of the cities was with the other Churches; and the social influence affects Church life far more in cities than in the country.

In New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and elsewhere, the older denominations were securely founded before Methodism was born. They had good church edifices, schools, colleges, and an educated ministry. In Boston, Congregationalism was sustained by the State. In New York city the Episcopal Church and the Reformed Dutch Church were largely endowed. Methodism, without a school, or an elegant church, or influential members, had, therefore, to make its way in the cities against powerful denominations, who showed it no favor.

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It had no means to buy commanding sites for its preaching houses, and commonly had to locate them in poor districts. For many years the circuit system prevailed, which precluded thorough pastoral supervision in the cities. The other sects, while not specially zealous in pushing into the country, put forth their full power in cities. They sought to control and utilize the social influence, culture, and wealth of the centers of population and commerce. Methodism seeing that its parish was the world, pushed out to the frontiers, and made the wilderness resound with its preaching and its songs. In large districts its advance was undisputed, because the other Churches did not venture there. The man of the saddle-bags was every-where where sinners were found, especially among southern plantations and the rude settlements of the West. The settled ministry delivered their sermons in commodious churches, in established and inviting communities; while even within the present century the Methodist preachers delivered theirs mostly in forests and barns, in workshops, in the streets, in school-houses and dwellings. They braved the storms of winter, and the floods of spring. They slept under trees, swam rivers, and ate of the plainest fare. Bascom's biographer relates that, while that great orator was preaching in a frontier abode, the man of the house suddenly rose, grasped his gun, and passed out. Quickly he returned, replaced the gun, and listened with composure until the service was over. Then he explained that, having nothing in the house for dinner, his mind was uneasy, until, seeing a flock of wild turkeys, he went out and shot one, after which he enjoyed the sermon, knowing he would not have to send the preacher away hungry. The itinerants not only met poverty, but frequently scorn and obloquy, and sometimes they were beaten by those whose souls they sought to save. Thus they planted their Church where no others showed concern for the spiritual welfare of the people. They shrank from no hardships or perils, but heroically carried the bread of life to those who otherwise would have been left to cry, "No man careth for our souls."

In the cities, confronted as it has ever been by the best talent, energy, and social force of older denominations, Methodism could not be expected to achieve as great success as in the country regions, where those denominations left it

alone in the field. Yet it has triumphed. Notwithstanding the severe competition it has met in cities, its progress has been steady and victorious, until it has become the most numerous and effective Church, not only in the country, but in most of the cities. It has shown equal adaptation to both. This I shall now demonstrate by unimpeachable proof.

In the following paragraphs all the cities of the United States are given, which have, according to the ninth census, a population of one hundred thousand and upward. These may be called the largest cities.

I include in this exhibit five denominations and seven separate organizations. The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are really one denomination. They are identical in doctrine and methods, and with slight exceptions in Church government. The same is true of the Presbyterian Church, North and South. There would have been no division of either but for the slavery controversy. In addition to these I include the Baptist Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Congregational Church. It is difficult to obtain the statistics of the Baptists, but I have succeeded in securing them, and they may be accepted as fairly accurate.

In the following paragraphs the figures represent communicants. Probationers in the Methodist Episcopal Church are included because they are communicants, and virtually, if not formally, members of the Church. They were always reported as members until 1849, and, consequently, until then there was not any chance for discussion about what becomes of the probationers. In 1849, when probationers began to be reported separately, there were 639,066 members, probationers included, in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In November, 1876, there were about 1,425,000 full members, not including more than 225,000 probationers. Thus it appears that there are now considerably more than twice the number of *full members* than there were of both members and probationers twenty-eight years ago, and in that time almost a generation of Methodists have gone to their reward. It is very plain, therefore, that the probationers are constantly filling up the ranks of full members. I give the number of full members and probationers in each city, and the total of both. The Church South has abolished the probation feature, consequently

there are no probationers in the statistics of that branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The paragraphs show the numerical *status* of each of the above Churches in the fourteen largest cities in the United States. The data are derived from authentic sources, and, with trifling exceptions, from the latest official statistics:—

New York—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 10,445; probationers, 1,902; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 12,347. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none; total Methodists, 12,347. Presbyterian Church, 16,483; Southern Presbyterian Church, none; total Presbyterians, 16,483. Baptist Church, 12,073. Episcopal Church, 15,318. Congregationalists, 1,883.

Philadelphia—Methodist Episcopal, full members, 20,111; probationers, 3,790; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 23,901. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none; total Methodists, 23,901. Presbyterian Church, 23,480; Southern Presbyterian Church, none; total Presbyterians, 23,480. Baptist Church, 15,108. Episcopal Church, 16,956. Congregationalists, 571.

Brooklyn—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 10,716; probationers, 1,811; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 12,527. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 12,527. Presbyterian Church, 9,145. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 9,145. Baptist Church, 7,340. Episcopal Church, 9,240. Congregationalists, 7,090.

St. Louis—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 1,381; probationers, 100; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 1,481. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1,437. Total Methodists, 2,918. Presbyterian Church, 2,250. Southern Presbyterian Church, 1,463. Total Presbyterians, 3,713. Baptist Church, 1,783. Episcopal Church, 2,316. Congregationalists, 843.

Chicago—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 5,663; probationers, 630; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 6,293. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 6,293. Presbyterian Church, 4,661. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 4,661. Baptist Church, 5,100. Episcopal Church, 2,549. Congregationalists, 3,623.

Baltimore—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 15,676; probationers, 1,331; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 17,007. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1,432. Total Methodists,

18,439. Presbyterian Church, 2,713. Southern Presbyterian Church, 752. Total Presbyterians, 3,465. Baptist Church, 4,643. Episcopal Church, 6,957. Congregationalists, 100.

Boston—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 4,525; probationers, 620; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 5,145. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 5,145. Presbyterian Church, 1,579. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 1,579. Baptist Church, 9,387. Episcopal Church, 4,405. Congregationalists, 7,730.

Cincinnati—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 4,202; probationers, 576; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 4,778. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 4,778. Presbyterian Church, 3,417. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 3,417. Baptist Church, 2,000. Episcopal Church, 1,564. Congregationalists, 736.

New Orleans—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 2,537; probationers, 854; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 3,391. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1,188. Total Methodists, 4,579. Presbyterian Church, 118. Southern Presbyterian Church, 2,036. Total Presbyterians, 2,154. Baptist Church, 375.* Episcopal Church, 2,226. Congregationalists, 187.

San Francisco—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 1,307; probationers, 162; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 1,469. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 100. Total Methodists, 1,569. Presbyterian Church, 2,234. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 2,234. Baptist Church, 1,500. Episcopal Church, 912. Congregationalists, 1,035.

Buffalo—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 1,794; probationers, 145; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 1,939. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 1,939. Presbyterian Church, 2,377. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 2,377. Baptist Church, 1,683. Episcopal Church, 1,747. Congregationalists, none.

Washington—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 4,938; probationers, 613; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 5,551. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 285. Total Methodists, 5,836. Presbyterian Church, 2,699. Southern Presbyterian Church, 116.

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* There are several colored Baptist Churches in New Orleans, but the number of their membership is not known.

Total Presbyterians, 2,815. Baptist Church, 2,878. Episcopal Church, 3,027. Congregationalists, 569.

Newark—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 4,494; probationers, 960; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 5,454. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, none. Total Methodists, 5,454. Presbyterian Church, 4,393. Southern Presbyterian Church, none. Total Presbyterians, 4,393. Baptist Church, 3,500. Episcopal Church, 1,551. Congregationalists, 697.

Louisville—Methodist Episcopal Church, full members, 912; probationers, 156; total Methodist Episcopal Church, 1,068. Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1,898. Total Methodists, 2,966. Presbyterian Church, 1,499. Southern Presbyterian Church, 902. Total Presbyterians, 2,401. Baptist Church, 2,102. Episcopal Church, 1,948. Congregationalists, none.

Grand total—M. E. Church, full members, 88,701; probationers, 13,650; total M. E. Church, 102,351. M. E. Church, South, 6,340. Total Methodists, 108,691. Presbyterian Church, 77,048. Southern Presbyterian Church, 5,269. Total Presbyterians, 82,317. Baptist Church, 69,472. Episcopal Church, 70,716. Congregationalists, 25,064.

In studying these figures some points should be especially noted:—

1. Methodism is first, as to communicants, in nine of the fourteen cities. Presbyterianism is first in New York, Saint Louis, San Francisco, and Buffalo. The Baptists are first in Boston. In Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Chicago, Baltimore, Washington, New Orleans, Newark, and Louisville, Methodism leads all the other denominations.

2. In these fourteen cities the Presbyterian Church is the chief competitor of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The excess of communicants, however, of the latter over the former is 25,303. The two branches of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North and South) have 26,374 more communicants than the two branches (North and South) of the Presbyterian Church.

3. The communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) exceed in number the combined aggregates of communicants of the Presbyterian (North) and the Congregational Churches in these fourteen cities.

4. According to the ninth United States census the fourteen cities have a total population in round numbers of 4,130,000, of which 1,472,000 are foreign born. Over thirty-five per cent., therefore, of the inhabitants of these cities are of foreign birth. The whole foreign-born population of the United States is 5,566,546. Hence it appears that more than a fourth, or over twenty-six per cent., of all the foreigners are in the fourteen largest cities. In addition to the thirty-five per cent. of foreign-born population in these cities are the children of foreign parents, who, like their parents, are generally hostile to evangelical Protestantism. This element added to the foreign-born population must make at least one half of the population of the fourteen cities inaccessible to the evangelical Protestant Churches. In addition to this, ignorance of the English language among the foreign-born people is a formidable barrier to their entering the Churches. It is, therefore, quite just to say that more than half the population of these fourteen cities is practically beyond the reach of Methodism and of the other Protestant sects.

How different is the field which the country presents. After subtracting the foreign-born population of the fourteen cities from the total foreign-born population of the United States we have remaining 4,094,482. The foreign-born population of the fourteen cities, as we have seen, is over thirty-five per cent. of the entire population of those cities, while the foreign-born population outside of these cities is to the total population of the United States exclusive of them—which is 34,426,094—in the ratio of $11\frac{89}{100}$ per cent., or considerably less than one eighth. The communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the fourteen cities are $2\frac{47}{100}$ per cent. of the population, or about one in forty. But more than half of the population, as we have shown, is inaccessible to Methodism, consequently the real proportion is about *one communicant to twenty of the population.* Exclusive of the fourteen cities the ratio to the population is $4\frac{41}{100}$ per cent., or about *one Methodist Episcopal communicant to twenty-two inhabitants.* But the fact to which we have previously alluded, that in large portions of the country the other denominations have left the field almost wholly to the Methodists, must be considered in this computation. Who doubts that Methodism would have immensely more adherents in the cities

than it has if the other denominations had not so zealously contested the ground? They have striven to attain the greatest success in cities. In the country, and especially in the more sparsely settled districts, they have expended less strength, and frequently have no existence. The Methodist Church cultivates equally both the urban and the rural fields, but the Presbyterian and the Protestant Episcopal Churches are chiefly confined to the cities and larger villages. The Rev. Dr. Harrison, of Atlanta, Ga., furnishes us a striking illustration of this fact. He says that in the field which comprises the States of Georgia and Florida the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has 100,000 members, while in the same field the Presbyterian Church has only 7,000. The same authority gives the number of Protestant Episcopal communicants in the same territory as 4,990. That field is quite remote from the large cities, and we see who has cultivated it. The same thing exists, though not always in such a remarkable ratio, throughout the rural portions of the Republic. Had the other denominations contested the field as vigorously in the country as they have in the cities, they would, no doubt, be more numerous than they are, and the Methodist Church would be proportionately less numerous. It must be conceded, in view of the difference in the population Methodism is called to address in city and in country, and the difference likewise in the competition offered by other denominations in the two fields, that the success of the Methodist Episcopal Church is greater in the fourteen largest cities than it is in the rural districts, and that instead of being a failure, the career of Methodism in the cities has been both brilliant and triumphant.

5. The preceding paragraphs do not make a complete showing of Methodists in the fourteen cities. In addition to the communicants shown there are considerable numbers who belong to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, or to the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. Those two organizations are understood to have at least four hundred thousand communicants in the United States. They are true branches of the Methodist vine, and in a full enumeration of Methodism in the cities they must be included. The Methodist Protestant Church has many adherents in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities. Exclusive of the Churches of the Methodist Epis-

copal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, there are eighteen Churches in Baltimore occupied by other branches of Methodism. The Evangelical Association, often called the Albright Methodist Church, which is almost identical in government with the Methodist Episcopal Church, has considerable strength in some of the cities. In Chicago it has six or seven Churches. The Methodist Church and the Free Methodist Church have communicants in these cities. If all the communicants of the different branches of Methodism in the fourteen cities were aggregated, and then if against that aggregate were placed the united aggregates of the communicants of the Presbyterian Church, and of the Congregational Church, and of every possible branch of Presbyterianism, not excepting the Reformed Church, the German Reformed, and the Cumberland Presbyterian, it would, no doubt, appear that in those cities the Methodists outnumber the whole.

Let us now turn to the study of figures which show the numerical *status* of the Methodist Episcopal Church in ten of the above cities at each decade from the beginning of the present century. Saint Louis, New Orleans, and Louisville are omitted because, as southern cities, they were identified with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, after the division in 1845. San Francisco is omitted because Methodism there is so recent. There was no report of members in that city until 1851, and then the total was but 109.

In the following paragraphs the total number of communicants in the Methodist Episcopal Church is given at the end of each decade in each city. The number gained during each decade is also shown, and the percentage of increase. The numbers of communicants given include members and probationers; for, as we have seen, the two classes of communicants were never reported separately until 1849, and, consequently, up to that year, they cannot be distinguished. This, too, is the proper way to exhibit the progress of the Church. Every decade shows an increase except in the case of New York, which, in that part of a decade which is between 1870 and 1876, shows one per cent. decline. That is the only declension that appears in the Methodism of any of these great cities, and it is very slight. It is attributable, no doubt, to the fact that the tendency of the Methodist population of New York has

been strongly toward the suburbs. While there are large accessions there are equally large, or larger, losses occasioned by removals to the adjoining cities and to the rural districts where more comforts of residence are offered at less cost. New York is constantly reinforcing suburban Methodism. Since 1860 Brooklyn Methodism has increased its communicants over one hundred per cent., and the same is true of Jersey City. The whole region around New York is being populated by Methodists who have abandoned the city as a residence. This outflow is ceaseless. In view of it New York Methodism must be pronounced successful if it does not decline more than one per cent. in a decade. Before this migration to the suburbs began the Methodist Church in New York grew considerably. In the decade ending at 1840 this growth was over sixty-two per cent. In the following decade it was nearly forty per cent., but during the decade ending 1860 it fell to twenty-five per cent. Since then, with the increase of migration the growth has been less, until a very slight decline in numbers appears for the year 1876. Seventy-seven years ago the Methodist societies in New York numbered only 776 members, and in Brooklyn there were only 54 members. A year ago in the two cities there were almost 25,000, and, including Jersey City, the aggregate exceeded 27,500 communicants, which is about a thousand more than any other denomination has in the three cities, which, though under different municipal and State governments, are in reality one. New York Methodism has been and is a decided power, and it is felt throughout the nation and beyond the seas.*

New York—1800, 776: 1810, 2,200; increase, 1,424; per cent., $183\frac{5}{10}$: 1820, 3,218; increase, 1,018; per cent., $46\frac{2}{10}$: 1830, 3,955; increase, 737; per cent., $22\frac{9}{10}$: 1840, 6,413; increase, 2,458; per cent., $62\frac{1}{10}$: 1850, 8,948; increase, 2,535; per cent., $39\frac{5}{10}$: 1860, 11,181; increase, 2,233; per cent., $24\frac{9}{10}$: 1870, 12,516; increase, 1,335; per cent., $11\frac{9}{10}$: 1876, 12,347; decrease, 169; per cent., 1: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, $54\frac{4}{10}$.

Philadelphia—1800, 664: 1810, 2,477; increase 1,813; per cent., 273: 1820, 2,767; increase, 290; per cent., $11\frac{7}{10}$: 1830, 5,010; in-

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* Since this article was written I have learned that in the ecclesiastical year ending in the spring of 1877, the Presbyterian Church in the city of New York declined about five per cent. in its membership.

crease, 2,243; per cent., 81: 1840, 10,387; increase, 5,377; per cent., $107\frac{3}{10}$: 1850, 10,907; increase, 520; per cent., 54: 1860, 15,943; increase, 5,036; per cent., $46\frac{1}{10}$: 1870, 18,625; increase 2,682; per cent., $16\frac{8}{10}$: 1876, 23,901; increase, 5,276; per cent., $28\frac{3}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, $71\frac{1}{10}$.

Brooklyn—1800, 54: 1810, 255; increase, 201; per cent., $372\frac{2}{10}$: 1820, 327; increase, 72; per cent., $28\frac{2}{10}$; 1830, 566; increase, 239; per cent., 73: 1840, 1,400; increase, 834; per cent., $147\frac{3}{10}$: 1850, 2,980; increase, 1,580; per cent., $112\frac{8}{10}$: 1860, 5,980; increase, 3,000; per cent., $100\frac{6}{10}$: 1870, 10,052; increase, 4,072; per cent., 68: 1876, 12,527; increase, 2,475; per cent., $24\frac{6}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, $115\frac{8}{10}$.

Chicago—1840, 154: 1850, 630; increase, 476; per cent., 309: 1860, 1,458; increase, 828; per cent., $131\frac{4}{10}$: 1870, 4,036; increase, 2,578; per cent.,$176\frac{7}{10}$; 1876, 6,293; increase, 2,257; per cent., $55\frac{9}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1840, $168\frac{2}{10}$.

Baltimore—1800, 1,040: 1810, 2,370; increase, 1,330; per cent., $127\frac{8}{10}$: 1820, 4,890; increase, 2,520; per cent., $106\frac{3}{10}$: 1830, 6,271; increase, 1,381; per cent., $28\frac{2}{10}$: 1840, 10,766; increase, 4,495; per cent., $71\frac{6}{10}$: 1850, 12,206; increase, 1,440; per cent., $13\frac{3}{10}$: 1860, 15,014; increase, 2,808; per cent., 23: 1870, 15,297; increase, 283; per cent., $1\frac{88}{100}$: 1876, 17,007; increase, 1,710; per cent., $11\frac{17}{100}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, $47\frac{9}{10}$.

Boston—1800, 72: 1810, 330; increase, 258; per cent., $358\frac{3}{10}$: 1820, 619; increase, 289; per cent., $87\frac{5}{10}$: 1830, 784; increase, 165; per cent., $26\frac{6}{10}$: 1840, 1,907; increase, 1,123; per cent., $143\frac{2}{10}$: 1850, 2,327; increase, 420; per cent., 22: 1860, 3,392; increase, 1,065; per cent., $45\frac{7}{10}$: 1870, 4,635; increase, 1,243; per cent., $36\frac{6}{10}$: 1876, 5,145; increase, 510; per cent., 11: per cent. of increase by decades since 1800, $91\frac{3}{10}$.

Cincinnati—1820, 608: 1830, 1,142; increase, 534; per cent., $87\frac{8}{10}$: 1840, 2,765; increase, 1,623; per cent., $142\frac{1}{10}$: 1850, 3,347; increase, 582; per cent., 21: 1860, 3,696; increase, 349; per cent., $10\frac{4}{10}$: 1870, 4,261; increase, 565; per cent., $15\frac{2}{10}$: 1876, 4,778; increase, 517; per cent., $12\frac{1}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1820, $48\frac{1}{10}$.

Buffalo—1830, 81: 1840, no report; 1850, 576: 1860, 783; increase, 207; per cent., 35: 1870, 1,032; increase, 249; per cent., $31\frac{8}{10}$; 1876, 1,939; increase, 907; per cent., $87\frac{8}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1830, $51\frac{5}{10}$.

Washington—1810, 159: 1820, 537; increase, 378; per cent., $237\frac{7}{10}$: 1830, 813; increase, 276; per cent., $51\frac{4}{10}$: 1840, 1,293; increase, 480; per cent., 59: 1850, 2,618, increase, 1,325; per cent., $102\frac{4}{10}$: 1860, 3,050; increase, 432; per cent., $16\frac{5}{10}$: 1870, 4,368; increase, 1,318; per cent., $43\frac{2}{10}$: 1876, 5,551; increase, 1,183; per cent., 27: per cent. of increase by decades since 1810, $76\frac{7}{10}$.

Newark—1820, 148: 1830, 352; increase, 204; per cent., $137\frac{8}{10}$: 1840, 753; increase, 401; per cent., $113\frac{9}{10}$: 1850, 1,710; increase, 957; per cent., $126\frac{5}{10}$: 1860, 3,258; increase, 1,548; per cent., $90\frac{5}{10}$: 1870, 4,310; increase, 1,052; per cent., $32\frac{2}{10}$: 1876, 5,454; increase 1,144; per cent., $26\frac{5}{10}$: per cent. of increase by decades since 1820, $87\frac{9}{10}$.

Average increase of membership for each decade of the ten cities taken together from 1800 to 1876 is $81\frac{2}{10}$ per cent.

In noting the increase by decades, it must be borne in mind that if the actual gain were uniform the percentage of increase must necessarily be much larger in the early decades. To advance from five hundred to one thousand members is to increase at the rate of one hundred per centum; but to increase from one thousand to one thousand five hundred members, while the actual gain is the same, is to fall from one hundred per cent. to fifty per cent. of increase. Thus in a city it is more practicable to double or quadruple a Church with a membership of one hundred than it is a Church having a membership of five hundred. It appears from the preceding statistics that the average increase by decades of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the ten cities from the year 1800 to 1870, and including the part of a decade between 1870 and 1876, is eighty-one and two tenths per centum.

We now pass to the controversial phase of this discussion. The "Independent," of New York, has discussed the subject of Methodism in cities in its issues from February 1, 1877, to March 22, 1877, inclusive, in seven full editorial articles, besides minor editorials. In the second sentence of its first full editorial, February 1, it says of Methodism, "It is comparatively a failure in cities." In the last paragraph but one of its last editorial, March 22, it says, "It seems to us that the itinerancy is a sufficient though not the sole cause of the comparative failure of Methodism in cities." Thus it begins its tune

and ends it with the same note, namely, the failure of Methodism in cities.

Inasmuch as Congregationalism *is* "a comparative failure in cities," having, after two centuries of effort, but 25,064 communicants in the fourteen largest cities of the Union against 102,351 Methodist Episcopal communicants in the same field gained in half the time, it would seem that the "Independent" had better devote its columns to the discussion of the failure of the Congregational Church in the large cities, instead of sounding false alarms about the failure of Methodism therein.

It is not uncharitable to say that, in order to apparently make out its case, the "Independent" does violence to the truth. Look, for example, at its treatment of probationers. In giving the census of Methodism in seven cities it failed to include probationers, notwithstanding they are, and have always been, communicants. In its issue of February 15 the "Independent" says: "It has, moreover, been indisputably established that of all uncertain things a Methodist probationer is the most uncertain. One year he is reported, and the next year he is gone, and none knoweth whither. It would be just as fair to count in all the visitors in New York city in any given time, in taking the census, as to include probationers for purposes of comparisons such as we are making." What candor is here! Probationers are persons who have joined the Church, and who are admitted to the communion. They are not full members, and cannot be until six months have expired. The Presbyterian Church or the Congregational Church would not hesitate to admit them, with very few exceptions, into membership at once; but because the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church requires a six months' probation they are reported in the "Minutes" as virtual though not formal members. It would greatly weaken the "Independent's" exhibit to include them, and it therefore dismisses them with a slander. According to it they are unworthy of enumeration. An untruthful man is uncertain, and is, therefore, shunned. A note of hand, a stock or bond that is uncertain, is discarded by investors. A house whose foundations are uncertain is abandoned by its occupants and left to the bats. But, worse than these or any other un-

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In pursuance of this line of attack on the Methodist Episcopal Church the "Independent," in its issue of March 8, recurs to the subject of probationers in two articles. In the first article, which is on the ninth page of the issue, it has these words, the italics being its own: "The number of probationers reported January 1, 1876, was 196,407. Of this number it appears that *only one sixteenth have been received into the Church during the year.*" This passage occurs in an article which is a review of the General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and other ecclesiastical statistical publications. The "Independent," therefore, professes to speak from a knowledge of the data. Furthermore, it speaks authoritatively and emphatically, for it clothes its utterance in italics. It tells the world in italicised words, with the statistics before its eyes, that of the 196,407 probationers in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1876, "*only one sixteenth*" *were received into full membership.* One sixteenth, of course, is six and twenty-five one hundredths per centum.

In the other article—a brief editorial—in the same issue, on page 23, the "Independent" says: "The Minutes of the Annual Conferences for 1875 report a total of 196,407 probationers. The increase of members in 1876, according to the 'Minutes' of that year, was 12,768. In this case only one in fifteen has been added to the membership." This statement is a little better, for, according to it, nearly, though not quite, seven per cent. of the almost two hundred thousand probationers are conceded to have been saved, against six and a quarter

per cent. in the other calculation. For small favors we will be duly thankful.

Now the "Independent" speaks from the "Minutes." It took good care, in scanning the table of Church members, to see just what the increase of full members, as reported, was for the year, and exactly how many probationers were returned the previous year; but its spectacles could not so magnify the numerals in the same table and on the same page, that told of 18,830 deaths during the year, that it could discern them. It strangely overlooked the fact, likewise, that Methodism teaches that any Christian even in full membership, outside of heaven, may fall from grace and forfeit his membership in the Church. Perhaps it fell into the delusion that Methodists cannot die nor yet backslide. It also forgot those members who withdraw from the Methodist Church, or possibly it had not yet obtained its information on this point; but two weeks later, in its issue of March 22, when it sought to establish another allegation, it said that it heard "of whole families quitting the Methodist Church." It would have lessened the effect of the "Independent's" double shot at Methodist probationers if it had, while studying the table of membership in the "Minutes," noted the death column, or bethought itself that excommunications, withdrawals, etc., must cause some diminution of the ranks of one million four hundred and twenty-five thousand full members. In simple candor we ask, What are the statements of such a journal worth? If it will thus glaringly violate the truth, with the effect of traducing nearly two hundred thousand Christian communicants, can its utterances in any case be accepted? *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus.* To use its own words, "it is indisputably established, that of all uncertain things" the "Independent" "is the most uncertain."

The question of the stability of the annual host of probationers in the Methodist Episcopal Church is, however, too pertinent and grave to be hastily dismissed. We propose to consider it with fairness and candor. In doing so, all the sources of reduction of the number of full members must be brought into view. These are death, excommunication, obtaining certificates of membership without presenting them again, removing with letters of membership before the annual report

of members is made up, and not presenting them in another Church until after the annual report is closed; voluntary withdrawal without letter; joining other communions, and long and unexplained absence. Except deaths, none of these items, unfortunately, are reported in the "Minutes." In the absence of official data we must avail ourselves of the best guidance we can obtain in searching for the total loss the Church sustained in its full membership during the year 1876. We will, therefore, take as our chief guide in this investigation the tables of statistics of membership of the Congregational Church for that year.

The members of that Church in 1875 are reported in the "Congregational Quarterly" as being 338,313, and the same authority reports 1,076 as having been excommunicated during 1876. In 1875 the Methodist Episcopal Church had 1,384,152 full members, or considerably more than four times the number of Congregationalists. The "Independent" tells us that the Congregational Church trains its members more thoroughly than the Methodist Episcopal Church does its members. (See "Independent," editorial, March 22.) If that be so, we may expect a larger percentage of loss by excommunication in the latter than falls to the former, for the better trained they are the less likely are Church members to require final discipline. Besides, the Methodist Episcopal Church has a large number of Southern Freedmen in its membership, who have had but a very indifferent training, while the Congregational Church has scarcely any communicants of this class. If, with less than a fourth of the membership, the Congregational Church excommunicated 1,076 communicants during the year 1876, the excommunications from the Methodist Episcopal Church probably exceeded four times that number. We will put the aggregate at 4,500, which is but a fraction more than the Congregational ratio. Then there are the absentees, that is to say, persons who live elsewhere than the place where they hold their Church membership. In 1876 there were 45,033 Congregational members reported absent. Allowing that the Methodists are no more migratory, and applying to the full membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church the Congregational ratio of absenteeism, there would be over 180,000 absentees. But in the Congregational Church

persons who take letters of membership are still reported as members in the Church that issued the letters, until that Church is officially informed of their reception by another Church. Hence persons who hold letters from Congregational Churches are counted in the annual report as "absent," while Methodists who hold letters are not counted nor reported at all. Most Methodist pastors are familiar with letters from one to three years old, and even older. Various causes, personal and other, are assigned for this protracted retention of them; but whatever the cause be, their possessors are not included in the summaries of membership while retaining them. When a member takes a letter shortly before the session of the Annual Conference, and does not hand it into another Church until after Conference, he is not reported as a member. Thus a large number of actual full members fail to be counted in the annual statistics. Many letters, too, are never given to the Church.

Then there is a multitude of absentees, composed of persons who have removed without taking letters. Of these many fail to report themselves, and are finally marked on the Church books as unknown, or removed without certificates, and are consequently no longer reported as members. Our Church record committees and pastors are every year expunging from the records the names of absentees that are not heard from, and the annual aggregate of such expurgations is very large. Estimating the yearly loss of full members from absenteeism at less than half the number that would result from the adoption of the Congregational ratio of absentees, which must, we think, be found within the truth, and we have a loss of 90,000. If we should add the loss that by a reasonable estimate must result from withdrawals, the number would be increased. But we will let the 90,000 stand for all losses, except those occasioned by excommunication and death.

Now all these losses must be made good by the probationers before any gain can be shown in the full membership. The surplus of probationers received into full membership after making good the losses constitute the annual gain. The "Minutes" for 1876 show a gain of 12,768 full members. It happens, however, that for that year the statistics in the Minutes are imperfect. They do not include the greater part of

the East Ohio Conference—that part which until the General Conference of 1876 belonged to the Pittsburgh Conference. The explanation of this omission, no doubt, is the change of Conference boundaries. The result of it is that the membership of the Church is made to appear in the "General Recapitulation" in the "Minutes" between 26,000 and 30,000 less than it actually is. Of the number omitted, probably not less than 25,000 are full members. The gain in full members, then, in the Methodist Episcopal Church for the year 1876, instead of being 12,768, is, probably, fully 38,000. In the light of these facts let us see how the case stands.

Increase of full members	38,000
Deaths	18,830
Expelled	4,500
Losses occasioned by absence, withdrawals, joining other Churches, and retaining letters	90,000
Total	151,330
Number of probationers reported in 1875	196,407
Number of probationers admitted to full membership, as shown in the above table	151,330
Probationers not admitted to full membership	45,077

By this computation we discover that 77 per cent. at least of the probationers reported in 1875 may be fairly considered to have attained to full membership in the Church. But all of the remaining 23 per cent. are by no means to be regarded as lost. Many, from various causes, are prevented from being at Church at the time of reception of full members, and consequently are continued from time to time, until they are able to be present. All pastors in the Methodist Episcopal Church are familiar with these cases. Their aggregate each year is considerable, and many of these persons go over to the next Conference year before being received, and consequently are not counted in the reports of full members until that year. Then others, who, for one or another reason, fail to give entire satisfaction to the Church, or who are not themselves entirely satisfied with their religious state, have their probation prolonged, and finally are received. There are many such cases. Others remove their residence to a place distant from the Church they joined and thereby fail to be received in due time, but eventually

reach full membership. Still others unhappily fall back into the world, for, as of old, some seed falls upon stony ground, and some by the way-side. Investigation shows that the ratio of probationers that are apparently lost is greatest in the Southern States, where they are principally comprised of Freedmen. On the whole, it is evident that no considerable percentage of final loss of Methodist probationers occurs. It is certain that an overwhelmingly large proportion are received into full membership.

The "Independent's" refusal to count the probationers of the Methodist Episcopal Church as communicants cannot, then, be justified by the allegation that they are worthless, and that, therefore, they should be rejected. They are the recruits that are constantly filling up and augmenting the ranks of our Zion, and they must not be despised.

The "Independent" assails the itinerancy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and alleges that it impedes the progress of the denomination in the cities. It draws a comparison between Methodism and Congregationalism by which it disparages the former. It says, March 22: "It is not the largest but the best trained army that is the most efficient. Methodism represents a very large army, Congregationalism a comparatively small one; yet see how much stronger, more influential, and efficient proportionately is the latter!"

We understand the true test of the strength, influence, and efficiency of a Church of Christ to be its success in extending the kingdom of God, and the measure of that success is the number of souls that are saved and added to its membership. If Methodism with its itinerancy is so much less efficient proportionately than is Congregationalism with a settled pastorate, it will appear, of course, in a smaller ratio of increase. A comparison of the increase of the two denominations shows that in the year 1860 the Congregational Church reported 253,765 members, and in 1876 it reported 350,658. In 1860 the Methodist Episcopal Church reported 994,447 communicants, and in 1876 it had about 1,651,000, including the number omitted from the East Ohio Conference, in the official statistics. In the sixteen years the increase in the Congregational Church was 38 per cent., and in the same period the increase in the Methodist Episcopal Church was 66 per cent.

These figures show that the "Independent" is once more seriously in error. If we were to adopt the "Independent's" mode of speech we should say, "See how much stronger, more influential, and efficient proportionately is Methodism than Congregationalism." It were useless to devote more space to such a critic of Methodism.

From this investigation we learn, 1. That there are no signs of decay in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the largest cities of the United States, but that, on the contrary, it is vigorous, aggressive, and decidedly more successful than any other denomination in those cities. 2. That it is even more successful, in view of all the conditions, in the cities than in the country; and, 3. That there are no indications that its present polity is not equally adapted to both country and city. What Methodism needs for its continued success in its great mission is not readjustment with reference to any special conditions of society, but the faithful and zealous application of its doctrines and methods in the spirit of its illustrious founder.

The fruit of Methodism, during the period of its existence in these great cities, does not all appear in this review. Throughout that period it has been constantly sending its members from its Churches in New York, Philadelphia, and the rest to the Church triumphant in the New Jerusalem. They have exchanged the love-feast on earth for the love-feast in heaven. They have exchanged the songs of free grace here for sweeter songs of free grace there. Their shoutings are hushed here, but are there renewed in eternal halleluiahs before the throne. Besides, the awakening preaching and revivals of Methodism have largely recruited the other sects. Multitudes trained in other denominations, and converted through Methodism, have for various reasons joined the communions in which they were reared. It has furnished them many ministers, and they still show their appreciation of Methodist preaching by inviting our preachers to their leading pulpits. They see the power of our unequaled system, and while we discuss the revision of our methods, many among them sigh that they do not possess them. They have long imitated our direct, hortatory, impassioned preaching, and have, through the influence of our rational and wholesome theology, almost entirely banished Calvinism from their pulpits. They have caught up our songs

and sing them with a fervor inhaled from us. They have adopted our experience meetings, lay preaching, and revival enginery. They have in one particular adopted our itinerancy, for their pastoral changes are almost as frequent as ours. In fine, Methodism has diffused its life through the other Churches, and is, in the great cities of the United States, the first and mightiest evangelical power.

ART. VII.—HOLINESS.

HOLINESS, St. Paul declares, is requisite to see the Lord. But is it not said, "Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him?" In the last day all shall look upon the Judge of quick and dead. The unholy, as well as the holy, shall see the Lord. But they shall behold him with very different eyes. The unholy, wailing because of him whom they pierced, shall call on the rocks and mountains to hide them "from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb." The holy shall shout for joy at the sight, when the Lord shall descend from heaven with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God. But it is evident that St. Paul in Hebrews, and our Lord in the parallel passage, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God," employ the words "shall see the Lord," or "shall see God," in some special sense. Before we tell what that sense is, let us ask, Who is meant by "the Lord" of St. Paul, and who by the "God" of the sermon on the mount? There can be no question as to whom our Lord refers. But whom does the apostle mean? The weight of authority is that "the Lord" of St. Paul is the Lord Jesus Christ. Whether this be so or not makes no difference, for the Son and the Father are one, and he that hath seen the Son hath seen the Father. And, since to see the Lord Jesus is to see the Father; and to see as he is the Lord Jesus is to be like him, to enjoy him, and to live with him forever, we are at no loss to know what the apostle means, and what our Lord means, when the one affirms that without holiness no man shall see the Lord, and the other that the pure in heart shall see God. To see the Lord and to see

God—which are Hebraisms to signify the greatest honor and happiness—when applied to this life, as they may be in an accommodated sense, denote peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, access by faith into his grace, conformity to his image, and fellowship with him. They indicate, as applied to the future life, to see God as he is, to be like him, to enjoy him, and to live with him forever in heaven.

But what is holiness? Who can tell what it is, seeing that the heavens are unclean in the sight of Him who hath said, "Be ye holy, for I am holy;" and that in His presence the seraphim, with folded wings, cover their faces? Spirit of holiness, give the clean heart! Spirit of truth, revealing the deep things of God, tell us what is that holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord!

In answering the question, What is holiness? we shall seek to avoid the discussions of Church polemics who have written and spoken much on the subject. We pray to write, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth. Interpreting scripture by scripture, comparing spiritual things with spiritual, and seeking, by the help of the Spirit, to bring to remembrance what inspired men of God have written of holiness, we answer—*Holiness is purity of heart; a heart washed from sin by the blood of the Lamb.* For, if the pure in heart shall see God, purity of heart is that holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.

The Scriptures clearly teach the natural or inbred corruption of the human heart—that man is shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin. But, whether born in sin or not, all *have* sinned, and from within, from the heart, proceeds every abominable thing, the understanding darkened, the conscience blunted, the affections sensual, the thoughts evil, the will rebellious, and the whole heart "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked."

But such was not man from the beginning. In God's own image Adam was created. In moral character he bore his likeness. But this likeness was defaced by Adam's guilty fall. The original purity of his sinless state gave place to uncleanness; his moral nature was defiled and corrupted by sin. This defiled and corrupt nature he transmitted to descendants whom he begot in his own likeness. These descendants, true

to his sinful likeness and example, are by nature unclean, and gone far astray from God in actual transgression.

To save us from its condemnation God gave his only begotten Son to make atonement for sin. Christ Jesus "was delivered for our offenses, and was raised again for our justification." To save from the guilt of sin, to cleanse the heart and make it pure, the blood of Christ, as of a lamb without spot or blemish, was shed that a fountain might be opened for sin and uncleanness. The justifying and cleansing power of this blood avails for all who, with faith in Jesus as a present Saviour from sin, offer the sacrifice of a broken heart and contrite spirit, crying, "God be merciful to me a sinner." "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." And the word of this salvation is nigh us, even in our mouth and in our heart: that is, the word of faith, which by the Gospel is preached to us; that, if we confess with our mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in our heart that God hath raised him from the dead, we shall be saved.—To deliver from the power of sin—from its being and indwelling—we have a Saviour who is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him.—And to bring us back to God, the Holy Ghost creates anew in Christ Jesus, causing old things to pass away and making all things new; quickens those dead in sins to live unto righteousness; purifies the body, sealing it his and making it a temple for his own indwelling; and, sanctifying the believer, restores him to the image of God. To sum up all, to be pure in heart is to be delivered, by the cleansing blood of the Lamb, from the condemnation, guilt, power, and being of sin; and to be made, by the quickening, renewing, and sanctifying power of the Holy Ghost, a new man in Christ Jesus, which after God is created in knowledge, in righteousness, and in true holiness.

But purity of heart is demonstrated by *a pure life.* A pure heart is such a radical change—such a renewal of the whole man—that a new man is the result; a new birth—a new creation—has taken place. Begotten of God, made a new creature in Christ Jesus, the understanding enlightened, the conscience quickened to a sensibility of sin, the affections spiritualized, the thoughts brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ, the will submissive to the will of God, and the whole heart

cleansed from wickedness and guile, the transformation in spirit and soul and body is, indeed, complete. This transformation, if it be in truth a new creation, will be attested by newness of life. The fruit of this divine renewal will be unto holiness. By their fruit we know them that are made free from sin, for by its fruit the tree is known.

The unholy are carnal and mind the things of the flesh; the holy are spiritual and mind the things of the Spirit. The unholy, walking after the flesh, work the *works* of the flesh; that is, such as corrupt nature of itself brings forth; called works of the flesh, because they are begotten solely by the fleshly mind. The holy, walking after the Spirit, show forth the *fruit* of the Spirit; the singular number being used to denote the connection and harmony between the graces called fruit, so called because the Spirit produces them by his regenerating, sanctifying, and fructifying power on the renewed heart and mind, just as sunshine and dew and rain bring the harvest from seed sown in the prepared soil. The works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: "Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like." But the fruit of the Spirit is "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." This fruit demonstrates that the whole man is washed, sanctified, justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. The old man is crucified with Christ, that, the body of sin being destroyed, the new man should not henceforth serve sin. Dead, indeed, unto sin, but alive unto God, the believer washed, sanctified, justified, rises in the likeness of Christ's resurrection and walks in newness of life. By pureness within and pureness without, by yielding himself a willing and obedient servant to Christ, by believing, loving, obeying, and serving him, he seeks to glorify Christ in his body and spirit which are his. Hence, purity of heart is also demonstrated by *a life of devotedness to Christ.*

Every believer whose sins are truly forgiven, and who is begotten of God, is pure in heart, free from sin, and *sanctified.* And this sanctification is contemporaneous with the new creation. For God from the beginning, that is, from the believer's

hearing and obeying the Gospel, hath chosen him to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth. When old things are passed away and all things made new, the believer is sanctified, free from sin, and becomes servant to God. From that moment he is one of the elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ. When the elect strangers, to whom St. Peter wrote his epistles, obtained like precious faith with himself, through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, that is, were made righteous according to God's plan of justification—their faith being accounted to them for righteousness—from that moment they, as well as he, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust, were made partakers of he divine nature.

The salutations of the Pauline epistles to the Churches demonstrate that every believer, when created a new man in Christ Jesus, is sanctified by the Spirit; that, unless he is sanctified, he is not a true believer; his sins are not forgiven; his faith is not accounted to him for righteousness; and hence, there has been no new creation whatever. All the Churches to which St. Paul wrote, except the Galatians who were fallen from grace, he saluted as saints of God, sanctified in Christ Jesus, faithful brethren, or as in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ. The Romans are the called in Christ Jesus, beloved of God, and called to be saints. The Corinthians are called to be saints, and sanctified in Christ Jesus. As saints and faithful in Christ Jesus he saluted the Ephesians; as saints in Christ Jesus, the Philippians. The Colossians are saints and faithful brethren; in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Thessalonians. All of these Churches are thus saluted, except the Galatians, who are simply saluted as "the Churches of Galatia." It will be noticed that the only Church saluted as sanctified in Christ Jesus is the Church at Corinth, the least spiritual of all the Churches commended in these salutations. But the Church at Thessalonica is saluted neither as saints of God, nor as sanctified in Christ Jesus, but as those who are in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ, though the Church there was the most spiritual of all the Churches to which the Pauline epistles were sent. For the apostle elsewhere

calls this Church elect of God; and commending its work of faith and labor of love, and patience of hope, declares that it was an ensample to all that believed in Macedonia and Achaia, and that in every place its faith to God-ward was spread abroad. Now, then, if sanctification be ascribed in the salutations of these epistles to the Church at Corinth, and to that Church alone—the least spiritual of all the Churches therein commended—is sanctification some special and extraordinary grace, some second blessing, distinct from, and superior to, the grace received in the new birth?

What is sanctification? It is both the act of God's grace renewing the fallen nature and purifying the heart; and it is the act of consecrating, setting apart something to a holy use. It has both senses. In the first sense, does it not agree both with regeneration or the new birth, and with holiness or purity of heart? It agrees with the new birth; for they that are born again—begotten of God by his incorruptible word—have purified their souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit unto unfeigned love of the brethren. And we know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not—is free from sin, and overcometh the world, because he *is* begotten of God. It agrees with holiness; for the same word—*ἁγιασμός*—which is translated holiness, is translated sanctification. And it agrees with purity of heart; for holiness and purity of heart are one and the same.

But sanctification or holiness has, also, an idea inseparable from itself, but incidental to the new creation and simultaneous with it. That idea is the second sense above mentioned—consecrating, setting apart something and devoting it to a holy use. As applied to God, it is the work of the Holy Spirit, sealing as his, until the day of redemption, him that is begotten of God and, therefore, free from sin; and, the moment he is begotten, setting him apart and consecrating him to the worship and service of God. As applied to him that is created a new man in Christ Jesus and, therefore, sanctified by the Spirit, it is his own free, voluntary, and grateful act, whereby acknowledging that he is not his own—that he is bought with a price, and has nothing which he has not received—the believer, from the moment he is created a new man in Christ Jesus, consecrates, sets apart, devotes spirit, soul, body, prop-

erty, and all, to him who bought him; whose most precious blood made atonement for his sins, and cleansed him from them; whose own powerful will begot him by the word of truth; and whose Spirit made him a new creature, and taught him to say, "Abba, Father." The true believer or new man in Christ Jesus, having thus consecrated himself to God, feels that he is henceforth and always the Lord's. His first question is, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" The love of Christ constraining him, and devotedness to Christ being now the rule of his life, he resolves henceforth not to live unto himself, but unto Him who died for him and rose again. To please Him whose blood renewed and cleansed him by the Spirit; to win souls to Christ who died for all; to glory in the cross by which he is crucified to the world and the world to him; to know Christ, not only in the power of his resurrection, but in the fellowship of his sufferings; to imitate his example; to be more and more conformed to his image; and to be found of him, at the last, in peace, without spot, and blameless—these, and things like these, are the controlling motives of his life; these his high, exalted, and sanctified aims. This devotedness to Christ and a pure life attest purity of heart, or that holiness without which no man shall see the Lord. Holiness, therefore, is purity of heart; a heart washed by the blood of Christ and sanctified by the Spirit; a heart whose purity is proved by a pure life and by devotedness to Christ, by freedom from sin, and by sanctified and acceptable employment in the service of God.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the holiness which consists in purity of moral character is relative, or comparative in the creature; in God alone is such holiness absolute. Man is made relatively and conditionally holy; God is absolutely and infinitely holy. In comparison with his holiness the heavens, as we have noticed, are unclean in his sight, and in his presence the seraphim vail their faces. Wherefore, if there be, not even in seraphim, absolute moral perfection, much more in man is such perfection an absurdity and impossibility. In the creature, whether angelic or human, no more absurd and impossible is absolute perfection in knowledge. The absolute in all things belongs to the infinite alone. When, then, God commands us to be holy as he is holy, and to

be perfect as he is perfect, he means not absolute, but relative perfection in holiness:—

> "Holy as thou, O Lord, is none;
> Thy holiness is all thine own;
> A drop of that unbounded sea
> Is ours,—a drop derived from thee."

From this it will be seen there *is* a perfection which God does command, and which is, therefore, attainable by the creature—attainable, because it is most dishonoring to God to suppose that he requires the impossible. What is that perfection? and where does it begin? It is relative; and, because it is relative, it begins the moment the believer is created a new man in Christ Jesus. In the new creation he is made as perfect in moral character as it is possible for him then to be. He can be no more or less holy, no more or less perfect, than he is made at the time by the sanctifying Spirit. All his moral purity being derived, he becomes, through faith in Christ, relatively just what God would have him to be, for he is then just what God makes him. His repentance and faith have been perfect: at least God graciously so regards them. They have been what God requires, and in that sense perfect. And, as an evidence that God does so regard them, his sins are forgiven and their guilt washed away; he is accounted righteous, and treated as though he had not sinned; he is created a new man in Christ Jesus, has peace with God, access to his favor, and rejoices in hope of his glory. His repentance and faith being approved of God, he has done all that grace demands. His sacrifice—a broken heart and contrite spirit—in the sight of God is relatively a perfect sacrifice, and is, therefore, accepted; and, being accepted, the blood of Christ and the Spirit cleanse and purify the believer, and make him relatively holy and perfect. Hence, if he were to die the moment he is created a new man in Christ Jesus, the believer would be taken at once to heaven to see the Lord. With God he is holy, sanctified, made perfect in Christ Jesus, and meet to see the Lord and be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless. Having done all he could—all that grace required of him—he has relatively perfected holiness in the fear of God. Who, then, shall lay anything to his charge? and who is he that condemneth? Surely, not God who justifieth him, or Christ who died for him, and rose again, and maketh intercession for him.

But what of Christian perfection after the new birth? does it cease to be relative? By no means. Begun, continued, and carried on in its search after the absolute and the infinite, it is always relative and only relative. And because it is relative it has a beginning, a growth, and a development, limited only by the conditions which infinite grace has imposed. If the creature, therefore, be relatively and conditionally holy, and God be absolutely and infinitely holy, there must always be an infinite distance between God and man—between absolute and relative perfection. Hence there must be, under grace, infinite room for the growth and development of the creature in holiness as well as in knowledge. No one doubts the infinite distance in knowledge between God and man; and, hence, no one questions the infinite room for growth therein. But it is no more difficult to conceive of infinite holiness than of infinite knowledge; and, consequently, no more difficult to conceive of infinite growth in the one than in the other. Hence, as the new man is renewed in knowledge, after the image of Him that created him, as well as in true holiness; and as these in man are relative and conditional, while in God they are absolute and infinite, there must be to the believer infinite room for development in both. Hence, the comparatively holy may become comparatively more and more holy. To be relatively like God is to be perfect; to be relatively more and more like him is to be more and more perfect. God, the absolutely and infinitely holy and perfect One, remains unchangeably the same. Man, whose moral purity is derived from God, may grow more and more like God, this growth going on indefinitely here and indefinitely in the world to come.

Now, let us go back to the question, What of Christian perfection after the new birth? We answer: It is the living in obedience to the constitution and laws of the new life, to which the believer is introduced as soon as he is made a new man in Christ Jesus. And what are these? They may be summed up in a single word, and that word is, *growth*. It is going on to perfection; that is, toward the absolute perfection of God. The holiness of the infinite One is ever before the relatively perfect. In the search after it the holiest here does not regard himself to have already attained. There is something here always ahead—something toward which, forgetting those things

which are behind and reaching forth unto those things which are before, he is constantly pressing. Every thing with which the life of God in the soul is compared denotes progress. It is walking, a journey, a pilgrimage, a voyage, a warfare, a race. It is likened to a grain of mustard seed, which develops into the greatest of herbs; to leaven which works its way till the lump is leavened. Cleansing himself from all comparative filthiness of the flesh and spirit, the growing Christian goes on to perfect holiness in the fear of God; that is, to be relatively more and more holy. With open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, he is changed into the same image from glory to glory; that is, from one degree of holiness to another, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. Following this law of progress he keeps himself relatively a perfect Christian; growing more and more like God, he becomes more and more perfect. Healthful Christian growth, therefore, begun at the new birth and continued through life, is Christian perfection in its truest sense. And this is *active* holiness—a life, not only of freedom from sin, but a life of acceptable service to God, of consecration, and of obedience to his will.

If this be so, the believer, when he ceases to grow, is no longer perfect; he no longer perfects holiness in the fear of God, for he no longer lives in obedience to the constitution and laws of his new life. Nor does he grow symmetrically unless all the graces of the Spirit—faith, and virtue, and knowledge, and temperance, and patience, and godliness, and brotherly kindness, and charity—have their full, harmonious, and relative development. These graces are to be added to one another; or, rather, they are to accompany, *ἐπιχορηγέω*, and mutually assist one another, as in a choral song. With faith as the leader, and with the other sister graces to join harmonious voices as in a perfectly trained choir of singers, the choral song of a healthy Christian life accords with that grand diapason of praise sung by the redeemed around the throne of God and the Lamb. And, if all these graces be in us and abound, they make us to be neither idle—*ἀργός*, (contracted from *ἀεργός*, *a* privative, and the obsolete *ἔργω*, *not working*, *idle*)—nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. But he that lacketh these things, that is, fails to obey this great law of Christian growth, is blind and cannot see afar off—that is,

loses faith itself, the telescope of the spiritual eye which reveals things hoped for and unseen by the natural eye—and hath forgotten that he was purged—purged once he was—from his old sins; that is, denies the Lord that bought him, and counts the blood of the covenant wherewith he was once sanctified an unholy thing. It is upon this the great apostle to the circumcision bases the earnest exhortation: "Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall:" the converse of which is equally true, If ye do not these things, ye shall fall. And to stimulate us in our efforts after greater conformity to the divine image, and greater faithfulness to the service of him who hath called and elected us, he adds, "For so an entrance shall be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Faith and her sister graces joining hands and leading the many precious souls given as the reward of their united and harmonious labors, shall be admitted to the celestial city, not at its pearly gates, but through a breach in its jasper walls to receive them and their trophies to the cross of Christ.

Healthful Christian growth, however, or Christian perfection, be it remembered, is not inconsistent with certain mistakes and infirmities here. Being relative in all respects and absolute in none, it has its comparative failures and weaknesses. The holiest, when made conscious of these, do the more earnestly strive after the infinite in moral character, and more perfect obedience to the divine will. The more assimilated to God, the truer their conceptions of his holiness and the obedience demanded by his perfect law, the more conscious are they of their own imperfections. The holiest often write bitter and condemnatory things against themselves. For the more abundant the entrance of God's word, the brighter its light. The rays of the sun shining through a crevice in the wall of a room reveal ten thousand motes, unseen till then, floating, or dancing in the sunbeam. Once the writer saw a drop of water, taken from the yellow Savannah, under a powerful microscope. A drop of that water to the naked eye seems but a little more discolored than the rain drop newly fallen from the filtering clouds; and yet in that drop the microscope revealed many living things, of various shapes and colors, disporting them-

selves without jostling or interfering with one another. It is thus the Holy Spirit discloses to the Christian, when striving after greater conformity to the divine image, and more perfect obedience to the divine law, comparative filthiness of the flesh and spirit, roots of bitterness, and failures in obedience and service he never saw before. When the Holy Spirit thus more perfectly shows to him his inner-self, and makes him see so much of earthliness in his holiest exercises and best efforts to serve and please God, he prays the more eagerly for more perfect crucifixion with Christ, and more perfect truth in the inward parts. And the better he knows himself, and the more clearly and steadfastly he looks into the perfect law of liberty, the more does he long to see himself just as God sees him, to look on sin just as God looks upon it, and to have

"A sensibility of sin,
A pain to feel it near."

Nor is this all. Sins of ignorance or other unavoidable infirmity revealed to him by the Spirit cause him to lament the comparative weakness of his faith and hope and love. Life with him being a continued temptation, he mourns because he is never beyond its reach, never beyond the possibility of sinning and grieving the Holy Spirit. But, seeing the end of the Lord in all his temptations; knowing that thereunto he is appointed; that the same afflictions are accomplished in his brethren that are in the world; that the chastisements of his Lord are proofs of his Lord's love to him as to a son, and not as to a bastard; and that his Master, having felt the same, knows what sore temptations mean, he the more patiently watches, and prays, and believes, and hopes, and loves, and endures. He is consoled by the thought that it is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master and the servant as his Lord. Tribulation working patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope, he glories in tribulations, not only because God sends them, but because, without them, he could never know the comfort of sanctified patience, the trust of approved experience, the assurance of confirmed hope, and the fearlessness of love made perfect. Having begun a babe in Christ and grown up into the courage and firmness of a young man who has overcome the wicked one, he seeks the settled peace and abiding rest of a father in Israel who has known

Him that is from the beginning. Nor does he who is athirst for God and his holiness ever relax his efforts, as if he were beyond the reach of temptations and infirmities, and having attained all the perfection possible in this life had already seized upon the prize of his high calling of God in Christ Jesus.

From what has been written the following things are worthy of remembrance:—

1. They are in gross error, if there are any such, who think it possible to attain here absolute sinless perfection. For, not only, even in the holiest, is all perfection relative, but there are sins of ignorance or other infirmity from which, till God is seen as he is, no one can be delivered. It is of such sins it is written: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

2. They, likewise, are in great error, who, because the holiest here are relatively sinful, and constantly falling into sins of ignorance, deny that there is in this life any such thing as sinless perfection. There is sinless perfection here, not absolute, it is true, but relative; a state in which the believer does not knowingly and willfully sin in deed, or word, or thought. "My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not;" that is, knowingly and willfully. For "whosoever is born of God doth not," knowingly and willfully, "commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." But, if we sin ignorantly, we have an Advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous, who for such sins is a gracious and special propitiation.

3. In grossest error are they, who, living in known and willful sins here, excuse themselves on the plea that, in this life, they cannot be free from them; but expect to be delivered from them only at death, and, after death, to see the Lord and live with him forever. For every one that hath this hope of seeing the Lord purifieth himself, even as he is pure. "Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not; whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him. And he that committeth sin is of the devil." "Be not deceived: they that are in the flesh cannot please God; they that live after the flesh shall die." "Friend, how camest thou in hither not having a wedding garment?"

4. The higher Christian experience developed by patience cannot be attained by mere faith; no, not even by the faith

that can remove mountains. The tribulation that worketh patience is the only thing that can give it. The patient endurance of repeated trials is necessary to experience. The soldier who has fought many battles is a veteran. The physician who has healed many diseases is an experienced physician. The pilot who through many storms has safely guided his ship to port is an experienced pilot. The believer who has patiently passed through much tribulation has won an experience. It is not faith which gives toughness and strength, skill and experience, to the arm of the blacksmith, but repeated strokes of the hammer upon the anvil. These strokes, it is true, are more hearty when faith inspires them. But, without the blows, all the faith in the world can neither give the toughness, the strength, the skill, nor the experience. And so, it is preposterous to expect that a Christian by mere faith, without tribulation, can attain any very deep and thorough experience in the things of God. Trial is necessary to develop the Christian as well as others. Hence, we are to expect the higher experience of the saints—the hope that maketh not ashamed and the love that casteth out fear—only by patiently enduring, for Christ's sake, all the trials to which a loving Father may subject our faith. The believer who thus endures will have not a second blessing distinct from the new birth, but continued and repeated blessings—the peace of him whose mind is always stayed on God. Glorious was the day to the humble fisherman of Galilee when, leaving his nets, he denied himself and took up his cross and followed Jesus; more glorious the day when, on Tabor's height, he beheld the transfiguration of his Lord. More glorious still the hour when, from Olivet, he witnessed his Lord's ascension. Far more glorious the hour when the Holy Ghost descended on him at Pentecost; more glorious still the time when the Holy Ghost, shaking, as if by an earthquake, the house in which he was praying, gave him to bear witness with greater power to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. But most glorious of all was the hour when, in old age and in exile on Patmos, he had the apocalyptic vision of the New Jerusalem and the marriage of the Lamb and his Bride.

Having tried to show what holiness is, we urge its necessity, asking the reader to pause a moment to offer with us the prayer of the psalmist: "Search me, O God, and know my heart:

try me, and know my thoughts: and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

1. As it regards the necessity of holiness, there can be no higher reason for it than this: God, who has said, *Be ye holy, for I am holy*, declares that without holiness no man shall see him. No one will question his right to fix the conditions of access to his favor here, and of admission to his presence hereafter. It is enough God has declared, "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God." It is enough that in the holy city, the New Jerusalem, whose temple and light are the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb, "There shall in nowise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie."

Holiness, then, God has made an indispensable condition of admission to his presence. If this be so, there can be no possible substitute for it. No self-righteousness, no mere morality, no Church relations here, no imposition of hands, no succession from the apostles, no formulas of faith, no penance by fastings and scourgings; no rites, or ceremonies, or modes of ordinances, or forms of admission into the Church below, can secure heaven without holiness of heart and life. A broken heart and contrite spirit alone God accepts for sacrifice. Faith in the blood of the Lamb alone is accounted for righteousness. Wanting these, vain are all things else. Worthless the imposition of hands, though the mitered bishop who lays his hands upon our heads may trace an unbroken descent from St. Peter. Useless the baptism, though he who performs the rite may trace his own baptism directly from him who baptized the Lord Jesus. Vain, indeed, the baptism were it performed in the Jordan itself, and the baptized one could stand in the very footsteps of our Lord imprinted, and, to this day, miraculously preserved in the sands, or on some rock, of its bed. Nothing, then, can be a substitute for holiness, and nothing can be a substitute for the blood of Jesus and for faith in that blood. And as holiness is the one condition of admission to heaven, so faith in Jesus' blood is the one condition of holiness here and of admission into the Church militant. Made holy, and

kept so by the blood of Jesus, nothing can keep us out of heaven. Believing on him, nothing can prevent an application of that blood. Even God's faithfulness and God's justice are pledged to this.

2. Benevolence to the holy in heaven demands that its gates be closed against the unholy. There is nothing there defiled by sin. All there are holy. Seraphim and cherubim are holy, angels and archangels are holy, the saints redeemed from earth, and washed in the blood of the Lamb are holy, and holy are the throne and city of the triune God. Heaven is, also, a place of supremest bliss. Nothing there to interrupt its harmony. No variance in its conversation, no disagreement in its intercourse, no diversity in its tastes, no conflict in its employments, no discord in its worship, no dissonance in its "sounds intermixed with voice, choral, or unison." "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?" If the presence of the unholy and unhappy in the Church on earth mars its purity and vitiates its joy, how much more would it disorder the Church in heaven? Wherefore God's benevolence to the holy in heaven will not allow any thing to enter there to dim its spotless purity, or diminish its unalloyed bliss.

3. To shut them out of heaven is the only mercy God can show to the unholy. Heaven to the unclean is a worse hell than the bottomless pit. The unclean man has no love to God here, no delight in his law, no joy in his worship, no communion with his saints. Place him in company with the redeemed whose conversation is about heaven and heavenly things; shut him in for a day with the holy and compel him to listen to the experiences of the saints, and you doom him to a day the most irksome and unhappy of his life. Place him in heaven before the throne, with seraphim and cherubim, with angels and archangels, with the four beasts and the four and twenty elders; let him see the lightnings and hear the voices and the thunders proceeding from the throne; let him behold the seven lamps of fire burning before the throne which are the seven spirits of God; and let him stand before him that sits upon the throne, the only one in that dread presence who is defiled and polluted by sin. And how can he join in the voices of those round about the throne, saying, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord

God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come?" Place him before the King in his beauty; let him stand in the presence of the beatific vision; let him behold the one hundred and forty and four thousand standing before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands. And how can he, clad in torn and soiled and filthy garments, with a heart unclean, with guile in his mouth and blasphemy on his tongue, unite with the harpers harping with their harps, and singing, "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever?"

It is said that Lord Nelson once presented the pilot of a coal barge with a midshipman's commission as the reward of some signal service to the British fleet, and assigned him to duty on his own flagship. In a few days the young man came to Nelson and returned the commission. The admiral was amazed; for this rude and ignorant young man, the pilot of a coal barge, was declining an honor coveted for their sons by British noblemen, whose armorial bearings were won at Hastings or at Agincourt. To the inquiry why he threw up the commission, the pilot, in effect, replied: "On my coal barge I was happy, with equals for my companions; here I am miserable, for my companions are the sons of the wealthy and the noble. Their conversation is about the high descent, heraldic honors, and great estates of their fathers—about things in which I have neither share nor interest. Take the commission, and send me back to my boat." This young man, when in after life he recounted this incident, would tell how happy he was when he trod again the sooty deck of his barge. And just so would it be with the sinner were he taken to heaven in his sins. It would be to him more intolerable than hell. His cry would be, "Send me away to the blackness of darkness, with fiends and devils, with lost and damned spirits for my companions, where no purity shall ever pain my lascivious eyes, no anthems of the redeemed torment my sensual ears, no felicities of the blood-washed, no corroding memories of what I might have been, torture my guilty conscience."

Wherefore, since these things are so, follow holiness. There is a metaphor here taken from the pursuit of game. Follow

it, pursue it as eagerly as the huntsman pursues the fleeing quarry. Let the penitent at once enter on its pursuit. Let him offer the sacrifice of a broken heart, and cry, "God be merciful to me a sinner." And though his sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow; and though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool. Let the backslider return to the fountain for sin and uncleanness, that he may be cleansed from all his idols. Let the saint pursue it, remembering that eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God hath prepared for them that love him—things which he is ready to reveal to us by his Spirit. And God is able to do exceeding abundantly above all we can ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us. All things are possible to him that believeth. If any man thirst, let him come to Christ and drink, and out of his belly shall flow rivers of living waters. God has fixed no limits here to the capabilities of a soul restored to his image. Indefinite here as well as in eternity its growth in moral character and in knowledge. Behold the difference between the mind of a new-born babe, and the mind of John Milton or of Sir Isaac Newton. Witness the difference in moral character between the tyrants Caligula and Nero, and the philanthropists Howard and Wilberforce; between the apostates Judas and Julian, and the apostles St. John, the beloved disciple, and St. Paul, who was caught up into the third heavens. And yet these are but feeble illustrations of what development the human soul, under grace, is capable of even here. Its development through the eternal ages transcends all conception. For cycles on cycles of ages in the presence of God, growing more and more like him, and yet eternal ages more for indefinite growth. Let this thought ravish the soul, and give new strength to its wings in its flight heavenward after the absolute and the infinite. But O, almighty God, eternal Spirit—Spirit of holiness—how great the contrast between a soul restored to the divine image and still pursuing holiness, and a soul lost, polluted by sin, growing worse and worse here, and, through eternal ages, wandering farther and farther away from God! Wherefore let us follow holiness. As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, let us thirst for the living God, and never be satisfied until we behold his face in righteousness and awake with his likeness.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

Baptist Quarterly, April, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. Thomas Munzer. 2. Modern Evolution Theories. 3. Present Aspects of the Disestablishment Movement in England. 4. Dr. Dale on Baptism. 5. The Chronology of the Gospels. 6. Ancient Attica and Athens. 7. The Mendicant Orders.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1877. (Andover.)—1. The First Book of Esdras. 2. Aristotle. 3. Revelation and Science. 4. Irenæus of Lyons. 5. Strictures on Revivals of Religion. 6. Recent Works Bearing on the Relation of Science to Religion.

Congregational Quarterly, April, 1877. (Boston.)—1. Orris Sanford Ferry. 2. Conference of the Elders of Massachusetts with the Rev. Robert Lenthal, of Weymouth, held at Dorchester, February 10, 1639. 3. A Church Creed: What Shall it Embrace? 4. Ought Congregational Churches to Dispense with Public Assent to their Creeds as a Prerequisite to Membership. 5. Agrippa's Reply. 6. Water as a Mirror of the Wisdom and Goodness of God. 7. Congregational Theological Seminaries in 1876–77. 8. Congregational Necrology.

National Quarterly Review, March, 1877. (New York.)—1. The Impressions and Reminiscences of Edward I. Sears, LL.D. 2. The Science of Political Economy. 3. The Stellar Atmosphere. 4. The Comic Dramas of the Restoration. 5. National Art Education. 6. The Political Situation in the United States.

New Englander, April, 1877. (New Haven.)—1. Dean Stanley. 2. The Wagner Festival at Bayreuth. 3. Expository Preaching. 4. Principles of Domestic Taste. 5. The Apocryphal Period of Hebrew History in its Relation to Christ. 6. Woman's Right to Public Forms of Usefulness in the Church.

Quarterly Review of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, April, 1877. (Gettysburgh.)—1. The Eldership of the New Testament. 2. Materialism and Pedagogy. 3. The Legacy of Iyeyas. 4. The Power of the Keys. 5. What Constitutes Qualification for Admission to Sacramental Communion? 6. The Sermon as a Work of Art. 7. A Few Words more about the Ministerium. 8. Conscience under Revelation and Grace. 9. History of the English Lutheran Church in New York. 10. Public Libraries in the United States.

Southern Review, April, 1877. (Baltimore.)—1. Plymouth Brethrenism. 2. Women of the Southern Confederacy. 3. Christian Consecration. 4. Life and Letters of George Ticknor. 5. The Sonnet. 6. Gregory's Christian Ethics. 7. Examination of Edwards on the Will. 8. Terms of Communion.

Universalist Quarterly, April, 1877. (Boston.)—1. The Realm of the Practical. 2. Luther and Schleiermacher as Preachers. 3. Dr. Crombie, a Universalist. 4. Universalist Conventions and Creeds. 5. The Study of Psychology. 6. Shall we retain the Bible in our Common Schools? 7. An Ethical Criterion. 8. The Divine Anger Compatible with the Divine Love.

North American Review, May–June, 1877. (Boston.)—1. The American Constitution. 2. Revelations of European Diplomacy. 3. Abraham Cowley. 4. African Explorers. 5. Soul and Substance. 6. The Relations of Debt and Money. 7. Harriet Martineau. 8. The Progress of Painting in America. 9. Political Reflections. 10. Recent Progress in Physical Science.

We are frank to say that the emancipation of the North American Review from the nightmare of the Adams dynasty is an emancipation into life. Under that dynasty its Articles

were not only weighty, but heavy. Its numbers were a succession of icebergs, solid, perhaps crystalline, and frozen. Even in its atheistic period, under the sway of Charles E. Norton, it had more life. It has rounded the circle, and come near to the period of its youth, when the Everetts and Sparks were its graceful and scholarly, but not brilliant, Unitarian editors.

The first article, by Senator Morton, is brief but statesmanlike. Mr. Morton has rendered great services to his country, has maintained an unimpeachable record, has nobly earned the onslaughts of the New York "NATION," and the gratitude of the American nation. It is to be hoped that he will continue his labors for modifying the method of our presidential elections. Some mode by which that election may be a sure and peaceful expression of the national will is the great *desideratum* of our politics.

James Freeman Clarke gives us a fine article on the great, disjointed, and upset intellect of Harriet Martineau. Harriet was bred a Unitarian, grew very pious under an evangelistic teacher, became afterward a Materialist in accordance with Priestley, and finally a firm Atheist under the tuition of a Mr. Atkinson. Of the atheistic correspondence between this pair Mr. Clarke piquantly says: "They seem like two eyeless fishes in the recesses of the darkness of the Mammoth Cave, talking to each other of the absurdity of believing in any sun or upper world." What strikes us with wonder is, the satisfaction Harriet feels in attaining to this belief in no God, no soul, no future life. Of that satisfaction her death record leaves no doubt. She wrote to Mr. Atkinson:—

> I see every thing in the universe go out and disappear, and I see no reason for supposing that it is not an actual and entire death—and for my part, I have no objection to such an extinction. I well remember the passion with which W. E. Forster said to me, "I had rather be damned than annihilated." If he once felt five minutes' damnation, he would be thankful for extinction in preference.—Pp. 274.

And the year of her death she says:—

> Night after night I have known that I am mortally ill. I have tried to conceive, with the help of the sensations of my sinking fits, the act of dying, and its attendant feelings; and, thus far, I have always gone to sleep in the middle of it. And this is after really knowing something about it; for I have been frequently in

> extreme danger of immediate death within the last five months, and have felt as if I were dying, and should never draw another breath. Under this close experience, I find death in prospect the simplest thing in the world, a thing not to be feared or regretted, or to get excited about in any way. I attribute this very much, however, to the nature of my views of death. The case must be much otherwise with Christians—even independently of the selfish and perturbing emotions connected with an expectation of rewards and punishments in the next world. They can never be quite secure from the danger that their air-built castle shall dissolve at the last moment, and that they may vividly perceive on what imperfect evidence and delusive grounds their expectations of immortality or resurrection reposes.—Pp. 274.

This will hardly compare with the death of myriads of Christians; not only rapturous martyrs in the flames, but triumphant sufferers on the dying bed. It is at best dogged submission to the inevitable; and the feeling of insecurity lest there be error, is of a far more terrible kind. The atheist "can never be quite secure" that "damnation" is a fable; and if the Christian is mistaken he knows that the result can be nothing worse than the very annihilation that the atheist expects. If the unhappy Harriet was mistaken, it was a *dire* mistake; if the Christian is mistaken, he is as well off as Harriet at her best.

Akin to these thoughts is the tenor of a book-notice in this Review of the "Discussions" of Chauncey Wright. Some of Mr. Wright's articles in the North American Review have been noticed in our Quarterly. Mr. Wright was an extreme, an *ultimate*, sensationalist. He rejected the super-sensible, and so rejected not only God, but Herbert Spencer's unknown absolute, as a gigantic phantasm, and reduced all knowledge to sensible experimentalism. He was a genetic evolutionist, yet rejected the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest;" and so, also, rejected the beneficent idea of *progress*, which, in the reviewer's view, is necessary to a just deduction of theism from evolution. And to this "dreary landing-place" he was brought, as the reviewer thinks, by his "quest of truth."

Inferentially the reviewer then adds:—

> Few expressions have been more fanatically abused than the phrases, "An evil heart of unbelief," and "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God." No doubt there have been many in ancient times who ignored a supreme Ruler because their deeds

> would not endure inspection, and their desires and passions were too gross to be indulged without compunction while God was in their thoughts; and in these latter days there may be as many who wish Christianity to be false and theism an illusion, because the former interferes with their wickedness by teaching retribution, and even the latter might imply responsibility and a hereafter. But to class all skepticism as proceeding from a wicked heart, and all doubt of a God as a certain mark of sinful folly, is pure fanaticism. There are at this day many unbelievers whose characters are as lofty, and whose lives are as pure and useful as the lives and characters of most orthodox believers; and among this number we must reckon Chauncey Wright.—Pp. 497, 498.

Now, before we can assign Chauncey Wright this "lofty" moral position, we must have answer to the question, Are there such sins as sins of *the spirit*, in contradistinction to sins of *the flesh?* Is there any responsibility for the use or misuse of our intellectual powers? A murderer, a traitor, is guilty of sin of the flesh, and our reviewer would utter no apology for such a villain. But what shall we say of the intellectualist that promulgates the sophism that led the murderer to the murder, and the traitor to his treason? The gross, external, muscular sinner is thus cruelly damned; while the refined, internal, cerebral sinner, though really the primely responsible, is glorified. Are we, then, accountable only for the deeds of our hands, and not for the exercise of our brains? And all this resolves itself into the one great question, a question which the transiently great men of our day would do well to ponder—*Are we in any way responsible for our moral beliefs?*

On the reviewer's authority we doubt not that Mr. Wright performed with more than average completeness the duties of equity and courtesy to his fellow-men. But we ask—and our reviewer is no atheist—did he perform his duties to God? Was reverence to the Divine in his heart, prayer to the Supreme upon his lips, communion with the Holy Spirit in his spirit? Who was it that said, "Thou shalt *love* the Lord thy God with all thy heart?" Has the Decalogue any authority, or is the table of duties to God, forming half that Decalogue, broken to pieces? Is it true, or is it not, that God is the great good; indifference to God the great apostasy; separation from God the great damnation? If these are truths they cannot be sacrificed in compliment to the good behavior of Henry Wright. They are not to be judged by Henry Wright; they it is that

must judge Henry Wright. What right has any man to suppress all the high and holy intuitions that God has bestowed upon him; to exclude the aspirations of the spirit toward the divine Spirit; to cast off fear and restrain prayer; to give heed only to those lower faculties that tell of matter and its properties, and then come forth to the world and proclaim that God does not exist? It *was* this suppression that made Mr. Wright the "fool." It *was* "an evil heart of unbelief." And we do class all "skepticism" that rejects God as revealed to us "as a certain mark of sinful folly." Atheism is in itself a heinous sin. It is not a *crime* which man may punish, but a *sin* which God will judge. And the apostle truly and justly pronounces a final judgment upon "those that *know not God*, and obey not the Gospel of his Son." If that is "fanaticism," it is the "fanaticism" of the entire Bible. That may be no argument with our reviewer, but there is a remnant, and a pretty large remnant, too, who believe that the grand old Bible will stand when the North American Review (as well as our own M. Q. R.) is forgotten.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Church and the Princes of Europe. 2. What the United States owes to James II. 3. The Liberalistic View of the Public School Question. 4. Last Summer's Expedition against the Sioux and its great Catastrophe. 5. The Red Man Gauged by his Speech. 6. Schulte's Roman Catholicism: the Plea of an Apostate. 7. The Immortality of the Soul.

The fifth article, which is the first of a series which, we hope, will not fail of completion, is designed to furnish us a view of the interior soul of our Indian race by an accurate analysis of their language. That there are different "races" of mankind with different qualities of brain and different capacities, is a fact very clearly established. The origin of those differences including the origin of race is a different question. The historian Bancroft, whom the reviewer quotes and criticises, assumes to decide from a very imperfect knowledge both questions. He is sure, first, that the Indian languages prove our aborigines to be incapable of reflection; and, second, that their condition never has been higher, as the phenomena show no indications of former superiority.

The first phenomenon in their language is the stupendous length of their words, such as kitosawasoniyawiwasaskutenigauabiskumisisinowok, or kitayamiewosawasoniyawiwasasku-

teniganabiskumisisiwawok, etc. It soon appears, however, that these stupendous vocables hardly belong to conversation. "But now, waiving for a moment the task of explaining those truly hyperpolysynthetic words, let us invite the reader to a party of harmless Ojibwas engaged in one of their ordinary avocations. Do they still speak the same language? Let us listen to them. Eidon abwi! Bring the paddle! Oma aton! Put it down here! Anindi koss? Where is your father? Tibidog. I don't know. Aia-na kizhime? Is your younger brother here? Ka; zheba gi-gopi. No; he went into the woods this morning. Nin gabiskab, ikitoban. He said he would return to-day. Noï dash? And Louis? Megwa madabi. He is just coming down to the shore. Pien, awi-nadin makak! Pierre, go and fetch the box! Tiwe, nin bwawinan? O, I can't lift it up! Bositon! Put it aboard! Kizhikan, Saswe; bosin! Hurry up, François; get into the canoe! Andabin! Sit elsewhere! Kidebab-ina? Have you room enough to sit? Taya, bidanimad! Ah, the wind is getting up! Ombakobijigen! Put up the mast and hoist the sail! Kigaminwashimin. We shall have a fine sail." The long word is really a definition or short description of an object, formed when the object was new to Indian knowledge, and stereotyped by use into a "bunch-word." If we were to call our Vice-President *the-man-who-will-be-President-if-the-President-dies*, and this should become his regular designation, we would have a regular "bunch-word." And our word *Vice-President* is, in fact, an abbreviation of such a "bunch-word."

The criticism upon Bancroft's views is as follows:—

> Passing over several other statements in Bancroft's essay, either similarly erroneous or greatly exaggerated, we now come to some conclusions the historian draws from them. The first is that language, so far as its organization or its grammatical forms are concerned, is not the work of civilization, but of nature. On this question, as lying outside of our present scope, nothing need be said. Another "momentous" and "more certain" conclusion is this, "that the ancestors of our tribes were rude like themselves." Over this assertion we have no disposition to quarrel, provided we be allowed to determine the degree of rudeness and the point where the ancestral line of our tribes must be conceived to begin. But our author continues: "It has been asked if our Indians were not the wrecks of more civilized nations? The language refutes the hypothesis; every one of its forms is a witness that their ancestors

were, like themselves, *not yet disenthralled from nature.* The character of each Indian language is one continued, universal, all-pervading synthesis. They to whom these languages were the mother tongue,* were still in that earliest stage of intellectual culture *where reflection has not begun.*"

We have again to complain of a certain want of definiteness in the use of terms. What does our author mean by "reflection?" Reflection on the parts of speech and the rules of grammar and syntax? Then we fully agree with him as to its total absence among our untutored Indians, at least among those who never had their attention turned to those rules by a white man blundering in the use of their difficult dialects. We have no objection against placing the ancestors of the red man on the same stage, so far as grammatical knowledge is concerned, with our own sires, or their cousins who composed the Vedic hymns and the great epics of the world. None of the latter, if we are rightly informed, were able to parse a sentence, or even to distinguish by name a noun from a verb. Would our historian, on that account, call them "rude," and assign them "to that earliest stage of intellectual culture where reflection has not begun?" He knows too well that quite a respectable height of civilization can coexist with a total want of reflection on the parts of speech and the rules of grammar. We must, then, presume him to have had in view what is ordinarily understood by reflection: the reverting of the mind to its own inward operations, the attentive and continued consideration of one's own thoughts or feelings, or the like. Here we must distinguish. If men should study psychology and logic ere they can be looked upon as disenthralled from nature, then again we shake hands with the historian, and even give up all hope of ever seeing our Indian friends throwing off the shackles of intellectual bondage. But if reflection on thought, as distinguished from sensation or volition, be understood, or reflection on thoughts as different from and opposed to one another, as standing in various relations to the idea of truth, and so forth, then we claim for the Red Indian and his ancestors, back to the very beginning of their particular form of speech, a moderate share of that self-consciousness and that capacity of reflected self-determination which prove the white man to be something more than the bondsman of nature, and that very speech, fairly presented and competently tested, will bear out our assertion. Our next step, to this end, would be a comparison of the Algic tongues with the principal types of human speech.—Pp. 323, 324.

The sixth article is a very stern polemic against Dr. Schulte, of Canada, who has renounced Romanism and written a book. Renouncing Romanism is depicted in the following style,

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* From the context we must understand this phrase to mean, "they who first used these languages." Bancroft inclines to the hypothesis according to which language was given to the several families of mankind together, and in proportion with their other endowments.

which renders it easy to see how natural the Romanistic transition is to inquisitorial persecution:—

> He [Dr. Schulte] knows that conversion from heresy to the Church of Christ is one of the greatest triumphs of God's grace; and that, without this conquering grace, no amount of human certainty, no fullness of conviction, can accomplish it. He knows, too, as none but a Catholic can know and understand, the dreadful meaning of apostasy with all that it implies. It is not for him a mere exchange of one form of Christian opinion for another, as the blind unchristian world is pleased to regard it. It is in his case the deliberate renouncing of salvation, the casting away of all hope, the voluntary surrender of one's self to final reprobation. It is to renew the denial and betrayal of Peter and of Judas, for Christ our Lord is one with his Church. Apostasy, however, may possibly be preceded by loss of faith; but even this is sad and horrible to contemplate. For the Catholic does not believe as other men do, because he has argued himself into the persuasion that the doctrine is true. There can be among us but one ground of faith for all, for the peasant and the philosopher, for the beggar woman and the one who sits and teaches in the apostolic chair. All must believe on the authority of the Church bearing witness to what God has revealed. And even thus we cannot believe without the grace of faith, which is a special gift of God. Being God's gratuitous gift, it may be forfeited; but this can happen only through our own fault, through some prevarication, actual or habitual, which renders us unworthy depositaries, and forces an angry God to take back his gift. The loss of faith, therefore, reveals the moral ruin of the soul, and that apostasy should ensue can cause no wonder.—Pp. 327, 328.

The favorite mode of expressing a *reductio ad absurdum* seems to be as follow: "Had any fifth-rate Methodist ranter discoursed in this style, we might excuse his boldness on the score of ignorance."—P. 341. "All this would be unpleasant enough to listen to, if it were the extemporaneous effusion of some half-crazed ranter in a Methodist conventicle."—P. 344.

English Reviews.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1877. (London.)—1. University Systems—English and Scotch. 2. Genius of Islam. 3. Mr. Wood's Discoveries at Ephesus. 4. The Public Works of India. 5. Across Africa. 6. Russia. 7. Reform in Turkey and Coercion.

Edinburgh Review, April, 1877.—1. The House of Fortescue. 2. Jebb's Attic Orators. 3. Wallace's Russia. 4. The Dramas of Alfred Tennyson. 5. Life and Letters of Charles Kingsley. 6. Native Policy in South Africa. 7. Brigandage in Sicily. 8. Gregor Samarow's Cross and Sword. 9. Wellington and Gentz on Eastern Affairs. 10. Note on "Railway Profits and Railway Losses.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1877. (London.)—1. The Norman Conquest of England. 2. Celebrities of Florence. 3. The Book of Genesis and Science. 4. Hungary: its Races and Resources. 5. Thomas Wade. 6. Spinoza. 7. Reuss and Urwick on the Later Isaiah.

London Quarterly Review, April, 1877.—1. Mr. Elwin's Pope. 2. Political Biographies. 3. The Kitchen and the Cellar. 4. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. 5. George Sand. 6. Mr. Wallace's Russia. 7. Harriet Martineau's Autobiography. 8. The Balance of Power. 9. The Military Position of Russia in Central Asia. 10. Turkey.

Westminster Review, April, 1877.—1. Popular Fallacies concerning the Functions of Government. 2. Courtship and Marriage in France. 3. Charles Kingsley. 4. Slavery in Africa. 5. Lord Macaulay as an Historian. 6. The Factory and Workshop Acts. 7. Russia.

Contemporary Review. Twelfth Year. March, 1877.—1. Progress of Religious Thought in Scotland. 2. The Greek Spirit in Modern Literature. 3. Spinoza: The Man and the Philosopher. 4. The Social Methods of Roman Catholicism in England. 5. Turkish Invasions of Europe in 1670–83: Sobieski's Letters to his Wife. 6. Reasonable Faith. 7. Prussia in the Nineteenth Century. 8. Balder the Beautiful: A Song of Divine Death. 9. Race and Language.

The first article, by Rev. Dr. Tulloch, is a remarkably free-spoken narrative of the modernizing movement in Scotch theology during the last fifteen years. Previous to that period the high biblicism and high Calvinism of the olden time, under the *regimen* of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Candlish, were absolute. Since that, bold and successful insurrections have taken place, and the progress, whether upward or downward, is at any rate onward.

In 1865 Norman Macleod made the following avowal as to the Christian Sabbath:—

> He believed that the authority of the Jewish Sabbath was an insufficient, unscriptural, and therefore perilous basis on which to rest this observance, and that to impose regulations as to one institution which applied only to the other must, with the changing conditions of society in Scotland, be productive of greater evils in her future than in her past history.—P. 542.

For this he was assailed and ostracised in a manner described by Dr. T. as very violent, though for a period of a very few months. How far Macleod's view became prevalent he does not say.

The next heretic was Dr. Tulloch himself as thus stated:—

> About this time I published a pamphlet, in the shape of an address to my students, which ventured to criticise the Confession of Faith as a document of human composition belonging to the seventeenth century, and as bearing upon its face the impress of the "religious party" from which it emanated. This added to the prevalent excitement, although it seems a sufficiently harmless

statement, as we write it now in cold blood; but the theological temperature of Scotland was heated in those days, and the statement was hailed with wild invective. That not only the Fourth Commandment, but the Confession of Faith itself—the sum of all the doctrine owned by the Church—should be the subject of criticism, and the Church seriously summoned to consider its relation to the Confession, was intolerable to multitudes who had been sleeping contentedly behind the old defenses, and awoke anxious concern in a few others who were apprehensive of what might be coming next, and where all this disquiet with the old landmarks might end. A venerable Glasgow theologian—it was strange how the loudest noise came from that "westland" district which was famous in the days of the Covenant—wrote with bated indignation: "When Dr. Tulloch tells us 'that it is well-nigh impossible that the old relation of our Church to the Westminster Confession can continue, does it not occur to him that men who have any right sense of moral obligation must draw the conclusion that it is high time that 'the old relation' of the Confession to all ministers and professors of theology, in the pulpits and chairs of the Established Church who hold his views, should instantly cease and determine, and they should leave their places to be occupied by those who will humbly fulfill their compact both to Church and State, and not prove traitors to both?" Here again ministers of the Free Church led the van of intolerance, although they were by no means alone in their ignorance and violence.

The agitation of 1865 lasted on through the winter, and was only quieted after the General Assembly of 1866. For a time the flame threatened to blaze up afresh at this Parliament of Scottish Presbytery. A petition came up from "the Elders of various Congregations within the Presbytery of Paisley," praying that the assent of elders to the Confession should be "wisely modified and amended." A counter-petition, bearing among other names that of the Duchess of Sutherland, prayed "for inviolably maintaining the Westminster Confession of Faith as the doctrinal standard of the Church." It seems as if there would have been a great clash of hostile arms; but the ungenerous *mêlée*—ungenerous because the voice of one of the culprits was shut by the rules of the Assembly, although he himself was present—passed over without any definite issue. No formal accusation was attempted. Dr. Macleod escaped, as he himself notifies in his journal, without "any unkind word;" and he seems hardly to have been able to realize all at once his deliverance. "Most unaccountable!" he says. "It is a state of things which I cannot take in. I cannot account for it." The fact was that after six months the fit of dogmatic zeal had begun to wear off, and men, who had not hesitated to join in the controversial noises which had enlivened the winter, were beginning to be ashamed of the din which they themselves had made. A reviving feeling also of respect for Dr. Macleod's character, and above all a well-founded distrust of what might be the effect of any definite prosecution and the elaborate discussions

> which must ensue, all tended to give the agitation its quietus. It was rightly felt by the liberal party that the real gain had been on their side, and that a certain measure of liberty in relation to the Confession of Faith had been secured by all that had taken place.—Pp. 543, 544.

The next heretic was a young professor of the Free Church, Aberdeen College, Robertson Smith, who having been well trained in Germany, was invited to furnish an article on Biblical Criticism in the "Encyclopedia Britannica." He was arraigned for its skepticisms:—

> The spirit of the times was greatly changed from those in which Dr. Cunningham held the helm of Free Church Evangelicalism, and is said to have rejected a contribution to the Review which has been the main advocate of that Evangelicalism, because the writer had impugned the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Here now was a Free Church professor who not only questioned but denied the Mosaic authorship of the Book of Deuteronomy, although this book bears *ex facie* to be the record of the utterances of Moses, to whom the Song of Solomon is "a lyrical drama" representing merely the love story of a Shulamite maiden, and the Fifty-first Psalm, so pathetically associated with the repentance of David, "is obviously composed during the desolation of the temple" in the later times of Hebrew psalmody; to whom, more than all, the Synoptical Gospels "according to all the earliest external evidence" seem to be "non-apostolic digests of spoken and written apostolic tradition."—Pp. 546, 547.

The committee before whom he was tried reported "no ground sufficient to support a process of heresy against him."

We do not herein quite sympathize either with Dr. Tulloch's spirit, or with the tenor of the report of this committee. The statement of the "non-apostolic" character of the gospels is rather more Straussian than we could indorse as non-heretical.

Of the further anti-Calvinistic revolt we have the following narrative:—

> But it is not merely changed and new views as to the Bible that are springing up in Scotland. The old question of the relation of the Churches to the Westminster Confession of Faith has come once more to the front. In evidence of this I cannot do better than present my southern readers with the following extracts from speeches delivered within the last two months by two notable clergymen—the one, as I have already said, a prominent member of the United Presbyterian Church.
>
> At a meeting of the U. P. (United Presbyterian) Presbytery of

Paisley during January, the Rev. David Macrae, of Gourock, who has obtained some literary reputation as the author of a book on "America and the Americans," as well as other sketches, brought forward a motion regarding the Confession singularly formidable and significant in its terms: "The continued timidity of the Church," it stated, "in dealing with her standards is becoming discreditable to her faith." "Two hundred years' research and experience have developed differences between the professed and the actual faith of the Church; and the spectacle of a Church professing to hold all these articles as articles of faith, while holding many of them only as matters of opinion, and not holding some of them at all, is a bad example to the world, and demoralizing to the Church itself."

These are bad words, and the language of Mr. Macrae in supporting his motion is not less courageous and decisive: "The Confession," he says, "teaches that God for his own glory has predestinated some men to be saved, but that all the rest of mankind he has predestinated to damnation and everlasting torment in hell. It teaches that while there is no fear of the elect, there is no hope for the non-elect. . . . It teaches that by reason of the sin of Adam, apart from any fault of their own, men come into the world wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body, utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil. It teaches that because of this sin, which they could not and cannot help, they are bound helplessly over to the wrath of God and the curse of the law, and so made subject to spiritual, temporal, and eternal death. It teaches that even in heathen lands, where they have never heard, and therefore have had no opportunity of accepting the Gospel, they cannot be saved, no matter how earnestly they may frame their lives according to the light of nature, or the laws of that religion which they profess. . . . It teaches that of the countless myriads of babes who have died and are dying in infancy, only the elect are saved. For the non-elect, young or old, it has no fate but the unending and unspeakable torments of hell. *I ask the fathers and the brethren of the Presbytery to say honestly if this is the theology which they preach?*"

It is beyond our province to inquire whether Mr. Macrae's representations of the doctrine of the Westminster Confession are to be accepted as correct. They are highly colored beyond doubt, and drawn out into rhetorical flourishes from which no document in the world is more free than the production of the Westminster divines. If Mr. Macrae were more of an historical student of Christian dogma, he would have laid on his color less strongly, and been more careful of exaggeration. But the significant fact for us is that such a motion was made, and such a speech delivered, in one of the large sections into which Presbyterianism is divided in Scotland; and that all this was done, not, indeed, without exciting deep commotion, but without any one threatening there and then to libel Mr. Macrae, and have him deposed from his sacred

office. There is no evidence that any one proposes to disturb Mr. Macrae. All the evidence seems rather to point toward the fact that his views, if somewhat extravagant, are not without a sympathetic echo in the thoughts of his "fathers and brethren."

Following Mr. Macrae's speech has appeared the report of a lecture by Dr. Cunningham, the parish minister of Crieff, well known as the author of an admirable History of the Church of Scotland, and other works equally distinguished by intellectual ability and literary skill. In the lecture Dr. Cunningham deals with the Confession of Faith in a calmer and more historical manner, but points out with hardly less decision its obvious errors and exaggerations: (1) its disproved theory of creation; (2) its intolerance in the power which it assigns to the civil magistrate in religion; (3) its doctrine of the non-salvability of the heathen; (4) its extreme Calvinism. He thinks it impossible to read the clause about reprobation in the third chapter of the Confession "without a shudder." In contrast to a "creed so full of metaphysics and ecclesiastical learning," he places the simple *credo* of the Apostolic Church, "I believe that Jesus is the Son of God;" and he asks, finally, whether any Church has a right to exact a creed like the present—"so wide in its range and so minute in its details"—of any of its office-bearers? He is unable to see how a Church "could exist without some consensus of belief," and he would therefore neither abolish the Westminster Confession, nor attempt to revise it, but leave it alone, as an "old document—a monument of seventeenth-century piety," changing the formula of subscription, or, in other words, the relation of the Church to a document the contents of which so many have ceased to believe, and which are in part capable of disproof.—Pp. 548–550.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April. 1877. (London.)—1. Rambert's Life of Vinet. 2. The Procession of the Spirit, in its Relation to the Division of the Eastern and Western Churches. 3. Age of the Pentateuch, with Special Reference to Revelation and Inspiration. 4. Lord Stair's "Vindication of the Divine Perfections." 5. Comparative Religion an Apologetical Basis for Christian Doctrine. 6. Extempore Preachers: Beecher, Parker, Spurgeon, and Talmage. 7. Formosa and the Gospel. 8. Vatican Approval of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. 9. Review of Literature on Church History in 1876.

The Article on "Extempore (why not *extemporaneous?*) Preachers" gives an admirable analysis of Beecher's theological position. The portraiture of Talmage is also graphic:—

Dr. Talmage is a man of genius, but he is much the least considerable of the four preachers we are discussing. It is but a short time since he burst into a popularity, which, on the whole, he is maintaining. But his defects are so glaring, and his merits so obvious, that they may be pointed out in a few words.

His main power is intensity. His sermons seem to be spoken at fever heat, and abound in thrilling expressions. This causes him to exaggerate so habitually and so grossly that it is difficult

> for people with cultivation to read him with any patience. Still, on the *si vis me flere* principle, it must give him immense power over an audience. His next merit is the astonishing variety of his anecdotes and allusions. Names may be counted in scores in his pages, and anecdotes, good, bad, and indifferent, abound. This is really a considerable source of power, and it is greatly ignored by most preachers. The very mention of a name in the midst of an argumentative paragraph causes the whole to be listened to. Dr. Talmage has evidently read widely, but he is far from accurate, and his style of quotation and reference is frequently grotesque in the highest degree. He has great power of word-painting, and his language is often rich and varied. As often, however, it transgresses all the rules of taste. He searches for short and memorable texts, and by taking them out of their connection sometimes presses them into unaccustomed service. His divisions are very pithy and striking. We mention as his last and best characteristic, that he is an urgent Gospel preacher, and that his appeals seem to have been much blessed. We think he fails very much in merely appealing to the unsaved without clearly explaining their duty. The question with many hearers in our Churches is, "What is meant by believing and not working?" Into really practical discussion Dr. Talmage does not go, hence his preaching is somewhat too much like a display of fire-works. We are most anxious not to disparage him unduly, and repeat emphatically that in popular power he has very few, if any, equals; and though most of us have had our fling at popular preachers on certain occasions, we all know that want of popularity means, in most cases, want of success.—Pp. 327, 328.

Of Spurgeon he rightly says: "He is, if we may be allowed the expression, a typical John Bull, and it is his John Bullism in religion that has made him so popular with all classes of the community." He accounts for Spurgeon's intense Calvinism on the ground that "Calvinism is the system that an unbiased reader will find in the word of God." That reason does not, however, account for the fact that so few of our great preachers either believe or preach said "system;" and that the faster the "unbiased reader" among the people studies the Bible, the faster Calvinism disappears. Among all our great preachers, for narrow-minded, obsolescent, eruptive Calvinistic bigotry, Spurgeon stands unenviably alone.

German Reviews.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. (Theological Essays and Studies.) Third Number. 1877. *Essays:* 1. Klostermann, (Professor at the University of Kiel,) Ezekiel. 2. Nösgen, The Historiographic Procedure of the Third Evangelist. *Thought and Remarks:* 1. Ley, (Professor at Saarbrücken,) Emendations to the Psalms, by the Aid of Metrics. 2. Wieseler, (Professor at the University of Greifswald,) The Era of the Seleucidæ in the Books of the Maccabees. 3. Grimm, (Professor at the University of Jena,) Additions to English Lexicography of the New Testament. 4. Lehmann, On Rom. ii, 14. *Reviews:* 1. Lipsius, Manual of Evangelical Protestant Dogmatics, reviewed by Hermann. 2. Schmid, The Darwinian Theories and their Relations to Philosophy, Religion, and Ethics. 3. Ley, Outlines of the Rhythm, and the Construction of Verses and Strophes in Hebrew Poetry.

Prof. Klostermann begins his article with the remark that "poor Ezekiel has had to suffer much, both during his life-time and after his death, both from Jews and from Christians." Couched at the very beginning of his prophetic activity amid thorns and upon scorpions, reviled by the evil tongues of his fellow-sufferers when his prophecy had mercilessly to destroy their hopes, and subsequently ridiculed by them when he was directed to raise in them new and better hopes, he appeared so strange to the later Judaism that his book was not received into the Jewish canon until after long conflicts and negotiations. In modern times, one of the greatest Jewish scholars (Zunz) has even attempted to prove that the name Ezekiel was only an assumed name, and that there never was a prophet of that name. Among the Christian theologians of the rationalistic school, some (especially Duhm, in his work on "The Theology of the Prophets") express a very low opinion of the character of the book and its author. Professor Klostermann undertakes a vindication of the prophet and his book, and specially enters into a very elaborate investigation of the sickness of the prophet, who for nearly three years was deprived of his voice, and of his sudden recovery. He arrives at the result that Ezekiel, in the thirtieth year of his age, in connection with an exciting vision, was seized by an attack of catalepsis, and that the peculiar character of this disease sheds a great deal of light upon the literary peculiarity of the book of Ezekiel and the prophetic activity of its author. In conclusion, Prof. Klostermann undertakes to show that his view of the relation existing between the sickness of the prophet and his prophecies could not in the least militate against the divine inspiration of the latter.

Prof. Thayer, of Andover, Mass., having called the attention of Professor Grimm to the omission of a few English works in the valuable essay published by the latter in the *Studien und Kritiken* in 1875, (the substance of the article has been given in our notice of the *Studien* in the "Meth. Quar. Rev.," 1875,) Professor Grimm now gives some additions to his article. He mentions the following works: Trench's important work on *Synonyms* appeared in a seventh revised and enlarged edition in 1871, and the eighth edition in 1877. This work has been very extensively used by German writers on the New Testament Greek, and sometimes has been misunderstood. Robinson's Lexicon of 1836 was republished in 1844, in Scotland, by Prof. Alexander Negris, a Greek, and John Drennan. The last impression seen by Prof. Thayer bears the date of Edinburgh, 1867. This work is greatly inferior in value to the American edition of Robinson. Parkhurst's Lexicon was edited in 1829, in a revised edition by Rose, who made use of the works of Schleusner, Bretschneider, and Wahl. In 1845 and 1851 it was again revised by J. R. Major, but also, in this enlarged edition, it is not a work worthy of the nineteenth century. Of much greater value than Parkhurst's book is the Dictionary of Bloomfield, (third edition, London, 1860,) which is extensively used in colleges and schools.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Third Number, 1877.—1. THOMA, Apocalypse and Anti-apocalypse. 2. TOLLIN, Servetus' Life in Toulouse. 3. HOLTZMANN, The Relation of the Epistle of Clement to the Canon of the New Testament. 4. KREY, Contributions to a Chronology of the Book of the Kings. 5. RONSCH, Studies on the Itala.

The publication of the complete text of the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, by the Greek Metropolitan Bryennios, continues to call forth an immense number of articles in the theological periodicals of Germany. Professor Holtzmann, of the University of Strasburg, takes occasion from it to discuss the relation which the Epistles of Clement have to the history of the canon in general, and to the Johannean literature in particular. As is generally the case in articles of the German periodicals, we receive a complete review of the entire recent literature on the subject, the most important works of which are the two new German editions of the Epistles of Clement, by Harnack, (Clementis Romani ad Corinthios quæ dicuntur epistulæ. Re-

censuerunt Oscar de Gebhardt, Adolfus Harnack, Leips., 1876,) and by Hilgenfeld, (Clementis Romani Epistulæ, Leips., 1876.) The author undertakes to show that some of the writings of the apostolical fathers are older than the later books of the New Testament, and that at the time when the former were written the canon of the New Testament as the authoritative Holy Writ of the Christian Church had not yet been formed, the dogmatic authority for the Christians being the Old Testament and the words of the Lord Jesus Christ. As regards the relation of the Epistles of Clement to the several books of the New Testament, Professor Holtzmann, in full agreement with Harnack and Hilgenfeld, finds no passage in the epistles that indicates an acquaintance of their author with the three synoptical Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles; but they show, in his opinion, a very careful perusal of the Pauline epistles, especially of those to the Romans and the Hebrews. The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians is expressly mentioned. Though many expressions in the epistles show a remarkable resemblance to expressions peculiar to the fourth Gospel, nothing indicates that this Gospel was known to, or used by, the author.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. BRIEGER, Professor of Theology at the University of Marburg. Vol. I. Fourth Number: *Researches and Essays:* 1. J. L. JACOBI, The Original System of Basilides. 2. WEINGARTEN, The Origin of Monasticism in the post-Constantine Age. (Concluding Article.) 3. BENRATH, On the Author of the Writing: On the Benefit of Christ. *Critical Reviews:* Works on Church History published in 1875. 4. Works on the History of the Reformation in England, reviewed by BUDDENSIEG. 5. Works on the History of the Reformation in Italy, by K. BENRATH. *Analecta:* 1. LENZ, A work proceeding from the Council of Basel on Ecclesiastical and Political Reform. 2. BRIEGER, On a pretended New Report on the Marburg Colloquy.

The New German periodical on Church History, published in connection with Dr. Gass, Dr. Reuter, and Dr. Ritchl, by Dr. Theodor Brieger, Professor of Theology at the University of Marburg, completes with this number its first volume. The appearance of this periodical raised unusual hopes among the friends of theological science, and the first volume has more than realized these hopes. It not only exceeds by far its predecessor, the defunct "Journal for Historical Theology," and is not only without a rival in its special sphere, but it is one of the ablest and worthiest representatives of the theological periodicals of Germany; and we confess for our part we find it more interesting and more ably edited than any of its many

German compeers. We know, in particular, of none which is so well suited to show the non-German readers the real excellences of German theology, and to benefit the entire Protestant world. A carefully prepared index of the first volume, appended to this number, and containing, 1. A list of the documents printed; 2. Of the books reviewed; and, 3. A general index of subjects, shows at a glance the unusually large amount of information supplied by this volume.

The present number contains a selection of articles, and briefer notices, which could hardly be more interesting. Prof. K. Benrath, a young theologian, who by his first work on the Capuchin Ochino has at once risen to the rank of one of the highest authorities on the history of Italian Protestantism, and now privat-docent at the University of Bonn, undertakes to prove that the celebrated Protestant work "Del Beneficio di Giesu Christo," (Of the Benefit of Jesus Christ,) was not written by Aonio Paleario, but that its real author was Don Benedetto, of Mantua, a Benedictine monk. The rediscovery of the original Italian text of this work in 1855 in the library of St. John's College, in Cambridge, created a sensation in the theological world, and secured to the new editions and translations an immense circulation in all the languages of Protestant Christendom. The work, which in a clear, plain language, and without direct polemics against Rome, gives a statement of the Pauline doctrine of justification, was originally published, without the name of its author, at Venice toward the close of 1542, or at the beginning of 1543, found at once a great circulation, and was burned in 1543, as heretical, at Naples. The Roman Inquisition regarded the book as *liber perniciosissimus*, and persecuted it so energetically, that the original text was believed to be entirely lost until its rediscovery in Cambridge. The first editor of the rediscovered text, Churchill Babington, tried to show by a learned argumentation that the author of this book was the celebrated Italian reformer Aonio Paleario. The same opinion had in the eighteenth century been expressed by Schellhorn in his celebrated work, "Amoenitates Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ and Literariæ," and had been adopted, among others, by M'Crie, ("History of the Reformation in Italy,") and by Tiraboschi, ("Storia della Lett. Ital.") After the defense of this theory by Babington, it was accepted as undoubt-

edly correct by the two recent biographers of Paleario, Jules Bonnet and Young, ("Life and Times of Aonio Paleario." 2 vols. 1860.) The most prominent opponent of this view was heretofore the distinguished German historian Leopold Ranke, who showed that at Rome the book was believed to have been compiled by a Sicilian monk, a friend of Valdez, and to have been revised and improved in its style by Flaminio, another Italian reformer of note, which circumstances appeared to him to be irreconcilable with the supposition that Paleario was the author. Benrath believes that not only is this a very strong argument against Paleario, but that from documents recently published in Italy it can be conclusively demonstrated that Paleario was not the author, and who the real author was. He chiefly refers us to the minutes of the trial of the noble Florentine, Pietro Carnesecchi, well known in the history of the Italian Reformation as one of the intimate friends of Valdes, who in 1566 was surrendered by Duke Cosimo, of Florence, to Pope Pius V., and in August, 1567, sentenced by the Roman Inquisition to death. Extracts from this trial appeared in 1870 in the "Miscellanea di Storia Patria." (Turin, vol. x.) Carnesecchi had become acquainted with the book "On the Benefit of Christ" at Naples, where he had resided until May, 1541. Now Paleario stated, in his trial in 1542, that the book written by him had appeared in the same year. It would, therefore, seem to be impossible that he was the author of the work spoken of by Carnesecchi. The latter, however, also mentioned the name of the real author, replying on August 21, 1566, to a direct question of the inquisitors: "The first author was a black Benedictine, *Don Benedetto, of Mantua;* he stated that he compiled it while he was in a monastery of his order not far from the Etna. Don Benedetto, as a friend of Marcantonio Flaminio, acquainted the latter with his book, and requested him to read it and improve his style, in order to make it the more readable and acceptable. Thus Flaminio rewrote the book; from him I received it, and have also given copies to some friends." Such a testimony will undoubtedly be admitted on all sides to be of great weight. The only argument, Dr. Benrath thinks, that can be adduced against it, would be the reference by Paleario to a book of his own on the same subject, as the question will certainly be asked to

which book those words refer if not to the "Beneficio," and whether there is no clue to the book of Paleario himself. Even this question, Dr. Benrath says, he is now enabled to answer A distinguished Italian historian, Professor Giuseppe de Leva, of the University of Padua, the author of a valued "History of Charles V. in his Relations to Italy," has found a reference to Paleario's work in a library of San Pietro in Vincoli, in Rome. Its title is, "Della Pienezza, Sufficiencia, ed Efficacia della Morte di Christo." The work itself is as yet not known, and Dr. Benrath concludes with the hope that a rediscovery similar to that of the "Beneficio" may be in store for the work of Paleario.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ECCLESIASTICAL STATISTICS OF EUROPE.

We published in a former number a statistical summary of the leading creeds of the world, embracing, among other statements, statistical tables of Christianity, as well as of the Catholic and Protestant divisions of Christianity in America, Europe, and the other large divisions of the world. Having since carefully revised the ecclesiastical statistics of every country of Europe, we now present to our readers the following statistical table, which will show them at a glance not only the number of Protestants, of Roman Catholics, of the populations connected with the eastern Churches, and of Jews, but also the percentage of Catholics and Protestants in every country. The total population of the countries has, as before, been taken from the excellent annual periodical by Behm & Wagner, called "Die Bevölkerung der Erde," (the population of the world,) which is deservedly recognized every-where as the highest authority on this subject. The total population of Europe is now estimated at 309,000,000, which is 7,000,000 more than the figures given by us (on the authority of the preceding volume of Behm & Wagner) in our article on the "Creeds of the World." The increase of population in most of the European countries is very rapid, but, in general, the Protestant countries and those in which the Eastern Church prevails are, in this respect, ahead of the Catholic countries. As the absolute numbers of population are steadily changing, while the relative percentage changes but little, the percentage of Protestants and Catholics will enable the readers of the "Quarterly Review," whenever later figures of the total population of any foreign country reach them, to

calculate, with a high degree of probability from the slowly changing percentage, the actual numbers of Protestants and Catholics.

		Percentage of			Total number of			
COUNTRIES.	Total Population.	Rom. Cath.	Prot.	East. Ch.	Roman Cath.	Protestants.	East. Ch.	Jews.
Spain...	16,551,647	99.9	....	....	16,547,000	10,000	....	6,000
Andorra........	12,000							
Portugal	4,298,881	99.9	....	....	4,295,000	2,000	....	1,000
Azores..........	2,388							
Italy..............	27,482,174	99.7	0.1	....	27,416,000	40,000	....	40,000
San Marino....	7,816							
Monaco.........	5,741							
Belgium.	5,336,634	99.6	0.4	....	5,314,000	20.000	....	2,000
Luxemburg....	205,158	99.5	0.1	....	199.000	5,000	....	600
France...........	36,102,921	98.3	1.5	....	35,908,000	242,000	....	45,000
Austria Proper...	21,300,000	91.9	1.8	2.3	18,572,000	883,000	489,000	822,000
Lichtenstein....	8,060							
Poland.........	6,026,421	76.3	5.4	4.8	4,596,956	327,815	286,000	815,433
Ireland.........	5,315,000	76.7	23.4	....	4,075.000	1.242,000	....	800
Hungary.........	16.4 0,000	59.1	20.6	16.7	9,692.000	3.378,000	2,739,000	553,000
Switzerland......	2,669,147	40.8	59.1	....	1,085.000	1,578,000	....	7,000
Netherlands......	3,809.527	36.7	61.4	....	1,400.000	2.341,000	....	68,000
Germany	42,723.242	36.2	62.5	....	15,464.000	26 740,000	....	512.000
England & Scotl'd	27,918,000	5.3	94.6	....	1,473.000	26,400 000	....	45,000
Malta, Gibraltar, and Heligoland.	172,660				160,000	10,000	....	2,000
Finland........	1,882,622	....	97.7	2.3	830	1,846,000	85,000	....
Denmark	1,903,000	0.1	99.5	....	2,000	1,938,000	....	44,000
Faroer & Iceland.	81,900							
Norway	1.802,882	....	99.9	....	....	1,800,000	....	20,000
Sweden...........	4,383,291	....	99.9	....	....	4,379,000	....	....
Russia without Poland..........	65,704,559	4.4	3.6	85.0	2,898,000	2,355,000	55,886,000	1,944,000
Roumania	5,073,000	1.0	0.7	95.0	51,000	36,000	4,819,000	150,000
Greece...........	1,457,894	0.7	....	99.2	10,000	....	1,448,000	2,100
Servia...........	1,377,068	0.2	....	99.2	2,000	....	991,000	2,000
Montenegro......	190,000	....	....	99.9	....	....	189,000	....
Turkey..........	8,500,000	6.0	....	48.2	510,000	2,000	4,067,000	100,000
	309,000,000	48.4	24.3	22.9	149,670,700	75,074,800	70,929,000	5,161,400

Thus the table shows that there are in Europe about 149,700,000 Roman Catholics, 75,100,000 Protestants, 70,900,000 persons connected with the Oriental Churches, and 5,200,000 Jews. The number of Mohammedans in Europe is about 6,380,000, of whom 4,000,000 live in Turkey proper, 2,359,000 in Russia, 10,000 in Roumania, 6,000 in Greece, and 5,000 in Servia. Russia has in its European dominions, also, a Buddhist population of about 2,000,000. The religious opinions of the remainder are not known. Only a very small number disclaim having any religion.

It would be of great interest to compare the percentage of the large divisions of Christendom in different countries at different times, and thus to obtain the material for proving their statistical progress or decrease. But, as has been shown in former articles in these pages, the ecclesiastical statistics that are entitled to any claim of reliability are of very recent date. Comparing the figures given with those in Schem's "American Year-book for 1860," we find the following interesting comparison :—

		Total number of			Percentage of		
Year.	Total popul'n of Europe.	Catholics.	Protestant.	Eastern Ch.	Cath.	Prot.	East. Ch.
1860	274,000,000	138,517,000	62,315,000	55,000,000	50.5	22.4	20.1
1877	309,000,000	149,670,000	75,075,000	70,929,000	48.4	24.3	22.9

This proves statistically the interesting fact, that during the time from 1860 to 1877, the Roman Catholics have lost in Europe 2.1 per cent., the Protestants have gained 1.9 per cent., and the Eastern Churches 2.8 per cent. The transitions from one of these large sections to another have mostly been of an individual character; the most important change of larger communities being the separation of the United Greeks in Poland (about 250,000) from the Roman Catholic and their union with the Russian Church. Although Protestant, as well as Roman Catholic, reports make it probable that this re-union is neither so complete nor so sincere as Russian papers represent it to be, the statistician has to follow in such matters the official statements. We have not yet deducted from the number of Roman Catholics that of the Old Catholics, (about 200,000 in 1877,) because, in the first place, it barely affects the percentage of Roman Catholics in Europe; and, secondly, the Old Catholics persist in claiming an abiding membership in the (Roman) Catholic Church. This claim is to them of great value in a legal point of view, though the breach between them and the Roman Catholics is actually as great as between Roman Catholics and Protestants.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

OF the revised and enlarged edition of Herzog's "Theological Cyclopedia," which has already been noticed in the January number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," nine numbers have thus far appeared, (*Real-Encyclopadie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* 1877. New York: B. Westermann & Co. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.) The great hopes which have been raised in the theological world by the first number of the new edition of this standard work are fully confirmed by the articles in the additional numbers which have since appeared. Every important article bears witness that it has been revised or written anew by a scholar fully conversant with his subject, and that the rich theological literature of the last twenty-five years has been carefully made use of. Any theological scholar in or out of Germany who desires to acquaint himself with the latest and best results of theological research on any particular subject, should not omit to consult the new edition of this work. He is likely to find there valuable information that otherwise might escape his attention. Among the many specimens of ripe scholarship that are met with in the numbers which have thus far appeared, we mention the articles on the *Acta Martyrum* (by Professor Zöckler), *Adoptianism* (W. Möller), *Egypt, Ancient* (Lepsius), *Egypt, Modern* (Lüttke), *Aera* (Wieseler), *Ethiopic Translation of the Bible* (Dillmann), *Ailli* (Tschakert), *Albert the Great* (F. Nitsch), *Alcuin* (Werner), *Alexander* I–VIII, *Popes* (Zöpffel), *Ambrose* (Dr. J. Th. Plitt), *Anglo-Sax-*

ons (Schöll), *Anselm* (Jacobi), *Ansgar* (Michelsen), *Anti-Christ* (Kähler), *Antinomianism* (G. Plitt), *Antioch, School of* (Möller), *Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament* (Schürer), *Apocryphal Books of the New Testament* (R. Hoffmann), *Apologetics* (Christlieb), *Apostolic Creed* (Harnack), *Arabia* (F. W. Schultz), *Archæology, Biblical* (Rüetschi), *Archæology, Church* (Brockhaus), *Arius and Arianism* (Möller). In comparing the numbers of the German work thus far published with the American Cyclopedia by M'Clintock and Strong, we are strongly impressed with the insufficiency of the German work in every thing that relates to the Protestantism of the English-speaking world. We also prefer the plan of the American work in some other respects to that of the German. We miss in the latter the numerous wood-cuts, as well as the copiousness of the biographical department, which distinguish the American work. Nevertheless, we venture to assert that no one who can afford to buy this German work, in addition to the American, will be willing to part with it after acquainting himself with its rich contents.

FRANCE.

We have already referred, in a former number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," (October, 1876,) to the forthcoming publication of a Protestant Theological Cyclopedia at Paris, the first work of its kind in the literature of the French-speaking world. Since then the publication has been begun, and the first six numbers are in our hands. They extend to the article *Bégurds*, and constitute the first volume of the work, with about 770 pages, and 160 pages of the second volume. (*Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses publiée sous la Direction de F. Lichtenberger.* 1876, 1877. New York: F. W. Christern.) If it is remembered that almost every-where where French is spoken—in France, in the French colonies, in Belgium, in Canada, in Hayti—the immense majority of the population is connected with the Roman Catholic Church, and that only in a few small cantons of Switzerland French is the national language of a compact Protestant population, we admire the courage of the editors and publishers in undertaking a Protestant work on so comprehensive a plan. It presupposes among French-speaking Protestants, to whose patronage it must, of course, look for its chief support, a very extensive interest in theological and religious questions, an interest, in fact, more general than has hitherto been taken in works of this kind in the large Protestant countries. The work has been looked forward to with the most favorable anticipations; for, although the number of French-speaking Churches is so small, the number of distinguished theologians and scholars is considerable, and it was announced that the ablest representatives of all the theological parties had united in its publication. The numbers thus far published fully realize the anticipations of the friends of the enterprise, and leave no doubt that when completed the work will be one of the greatest Protestant productions of French literature. Among the most important articles of the first volume are those by Carrière on *Abyssinia* and *Armenia;* by Sabatier on the *Acts of the Apostles*

and on the *Apocalypse;* by Pressensé on the *Christian School of Alexandria;* by Gabriel Monod on the *Acts of the Saints;* by Stapfer on the *Apostolical Age;* by Ch. Schmidt on the *Albigenses* and an *Ecclesiastical Archæology;* by Nicolas on the *Jews of Alexandria* and the *Philosophical School of Alexandria;* by Delaborde on the *Conspiracy of Amboise;* by Cunitz on *Ambrose;* by J. de Visme on *Amyrant;* by A. Réville on the *Anabaptists* and on *Arminianism;* by Chartel on the *Reformation in England;* by Colani on the *Anglican Church;* by Bonifas on *Anselm;* by Vernes on *Jewish Apocalypses;* by Bouvier on *Apologetics;* by Chaponnière on the *Apostles' Creed;* by Matter on the *Religious Philosophy of the Arabs;* by E. Reuss on *Biblical Archæology;* by Bois on *Asceticism;* by Berger on *Assyria;* by Rabier on *Atheism;* by Bordier on *Agrippa d'Aubigné;* by Jundt on *Augustine.* All these articles establish the thoroughly scientific and original character of the work, and secure for it an honorable place in the theological literature of the Protestant world. We miss in some articles the exhaustive completeness which we admire in the new edition of the German work of Herzog, and especially the fullness of literary references. In some articles, like that on Germany, the style is not suited for a cyclopedic treatment; but defects of this kind may be found in any cyclopedia, and do not detract from the value of the work in general. The work has, on the other hand, some excellent features of its own. Being not exclusively intended for theological scholars, but addressing itself, as even the selection of the title indicates, to all who take an interest in "religious" (not only theological) science, it treats of many interesting subjects in a more popular and lucid style than the German work of Herzog, and will on that account be found by many English-speaking Protestants more instructive. It also gives, for the same reason, a number of articles which are not found in the German work, devoting, for instance, greater attention to the religious statistics of the world. As may be expected, every thing relating to France, and especially to French Protestantism, is treated with a fullness and thoroughness that no one will expect to find in works of either the English or the German tongue. No French Protestant clergyman, of course, should be without such a work; but it will also find many warm friends among educated Frenchmen in general. Besides them, all who take a special interest in France and its religious condition will find in this work a source of a large amount of information not to be obtained from other works.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Humiliation of Christ, in its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects. The Sixth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By ALEXANDER B. BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow. 8vo., pp. 502. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1876. Price, $6 00.

Professor Bruce's title does not instantly suggest the scope of his work. It is an able, learned, and eloquent treatise upon the Incarnation. It is a comparative survey, historical and analytical, of the various leading theories held by the mind of the Church. It successively reviews the doctrine as Patristic, Lutheran, Reformed, and modern Kenotic. The Reformed, as adopted mainly by the English Church, has been inherited by Methodism. To the great subject the professor brings a free and expansive spirit. He recognizes that so important a doctrine requires for its true comprehension an aspiring faith. Faith, indeed, in order to rise to the sublimity of divine truth, must not allow itself a grudging, small-minded, exacting temper. "Successful treatment," as he heroically says, "demands not only reverence and caution, but audacity. Without boldness, both in faith and thought, it is impossible to rise to the grandeur of truth in Christ, as set forth in Scripture. Courage is required even for believing in the Incarnation, and still more for the scientific discussion thereof. What can be done, then, but proceed with firm steps, trusting to the gracious guidance of God; expecting, in the words of St. Hilary, that 'He may incite the beginnings of this trembling undertaking, confirm them with advancing progress, and call the writer to fellowship with the spirit of prophets and apostles, that he may understand their sayings in the sense in which they spoke them, and follow up the use of words with the same conception of things.'"

He earnestly maintains that these most transcendent truths have a deep and vital bearing upon the Christian life. And how true it is that when the loftier views of Christ's nature grow dim, and the energy of faith that boldly grasps the Trinitarian doctrine is relaxed, the entire tone of spiritual life is enervated, and an easy inclined plane into rationalism and skepticism opens before the Church!

The early fathers of Christianity tended rather to emphasize the divinity than the humanity of Christ. Though they energetically and successfully shut completely out of the Church the *doketic* doctrine that his human body was a mere *seeming*, yet their high

faith dwelt most on the divine nature of Christ, tending to lose his humanity in the exaltation of his deity.

At the reformation this tendency was reversed. The more thorough, as well as more broadly popularized, study of the Gospels, fixed the mind's eye of the Christian world upon the *man* Christ. The new Christian life claimed sympathy with our truly human brother. Instead of starting from the divinity, and adjusting the humanity thereto, the Protestant Church started from the humanity, and sought to attain a consistent adjustment of the divinity. It was the Lutheran section of the reformation that adhered most to the old view. Curiously enough, this tendency of Lutheranism arose from the sacramental discussion. When Luther rejected *transubstantiation*, which imported that Christ's body and the bread were one, yet adopted *consubstantiation*, according to which the body, though not being the bread, was *in* the bread as heat is in the iron, he compelled a vast speculation upon the body of Christ. The material body had to be endowed with metaphysical ubiquity. A limited amount of matter had to be furnished with one of the attributes of divinity. But, under the lead of Zwinglius, the Reformed body, in distinction from the Lutherans, viewing the words of Christ as symbolical, recognized only a commemorative rite in the supper, were relieved thereby from a stupendous cloud of metaphysics, and were left to contemplate the person of Jesus in the Gospel narrative in its truly human, as well as its divine, aspects. Questions enough were left to exercise all the acumen of the theologians in forming a consistent view of the union of the two natures in one "person." To the question, How was the Logos humiliated from his full glory down to a unity with man? the reply became, Not by physical diminution, but by "*occultation.*" The divine glory was not diminished in magnitude, but *vailed* from view. To the question, How is the one "personality" secured? the usual reply was, That the personality of the man was merged in the personality of the Logos, so that the man was truly impersonal, and the personality was thereby one.

But our own day has broached a new theory, which unquestionably, whatever its defects, does amply secure the unity of Christ's personality. The Kenotic theory is derived from the Greek word "*Kenosis*," *emptying*, the word used in its verb form by Paul in Phil. ii, and rendered in our translation, "made of no reputation." This theory, in its simplicity, is, that the *soul* of Jesus was the Logos self-reduced to the magnitude of a human soul. Jesus, then, body and soul, was a body, and the Logos voluntarily made finite and human. Of this theory our author gives

a very lucid account, historical and analytical, followed by his own reason for rejecting it. Its real author "seems to have been Zinzendorf, the founder of the Moravian Brotherhood. The grain of thought cast by him into the ground lay dormant for a hundred years; then, in the fourth decade of the present century, it began to germinate, and ever since it has gone on multiplying abundantly, till now the Kenotic school has attained considerable dimensions, and can number its appearance among theologians by scores."

In Zinzendorf it sprung from his spirit of intense affection for the man Jesus, into whom he loved to absorb and humanize the divinity. The view attains all the personal unity in Christ of the simplest Socinianism. Jesus was a mere man in reality; only his soul had a peculiar history, a different origin from ordinary human souls. Hence Bengel said that Zinzendorf was like a man starting west from Socinianism, and coming round to it again from the east. Our author classifies this Christology into four forms, as presented by its four leading theologians, Thomasius, Gess, Ebrard, and Martensen. It is that of Gess which we have represented most nearly in the above remarks, which is the simplest and most readily adopted of the four, and which has been reproduced in modified form in a translation by Professor Reubelt, published at the Andover press.

In our argument against the Kenotic theory we should differ at the start from Professor Bruce. The graveling difficulty in our own mind he discards as unadvisable. It is the ontological, or, as he calls it, "the metaphysical question, Can the infinite One limit himself?" He is "not inclined to dogmatize on what is possible or impossible for God." And then he fears to give a handle to the ontological inferences of Strauss from the nature of the "absolute." To these points we feel no difficulty in replying. We would not "dogmatize" about the possible with God, but we would *think and infer*, to the best of our power, upon that, as upon any other ontological subject. Reasonings from the essential attributes of the divine nature are legitimate in theology; and there are multitudes of cases in which Professor Bruce would use them as freely as any body. The impossibility to even Omnipotence of performing a contradiction is, in our opinion, a fundamental axiom basing all valid theodicy. Without such an axiom, in our view, a consistent Christian theology cannot be written. Nor do we stand in such awe of Strauss's "absolute," or of Spinoza's, or Mansel's, or Spencer's, as seems the professor. The specimen argument, which he quotes from Strauss, to warn us withal, appears

to us a very cheap sample. It does not scare us "worth a cent" from still affirming that the God we believe in is necessarily existent, cannot non-exist, cannot annihilate himself, and so cannot finite himself. If it is possible for the Infinite to finite himself, to annihilate himself, then Atheism is possible. And when we say that God necessarily exists, we mean that he exists in all the necessary fullness of his infinite attributes. The Kenosis, meaning thereby the ceasing of the Infinite to be infinite, is, therefore, as impossible as any mathematical absurdity. Remove that difficulty, and all our objections to the Kenotic theory would very probably terminate.

The closing part of this work, touching "the official aspects" of the "humiliation," presents, in a very interesting way, a comparative survey of the various views of the atonement at the present hour. This subject has been undergoing a voluminous discussion in Scotland and England. Our own American Methodism is so well satisfied with the views read in Wesley and Watson, and sung in our hymns, and preached and prayed in our revivals, that we have ceased speculation ourselves, and have not much regarded the speculations of others. A universal substitutional atonement seems to lie deep in the heart of our Church.

The Papacy and the Civil Power. By R. W. THOMPSON. 8vo., pp. 750. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

Mr. Thompson is a Methodist layman of Indiana, who will be pleasantly remembered by many as a member of the Brooklyn General Conference, a lawyer by profession, and a statesman of such ability that President Hayes, in the formation of his cabinet, selected him as his Secretary of the Navy. He entered upon the investigations, of which the present volume is a result, from the conviction that it was his duty, as an American citizen, to become familiar with the pretensions and history of the papacy in its relations to civil government, and so careful and thorough has he been in his inquiries that he is said to have learned, when over sixty years of age, several languages that he might study his authorities in their originals. A more candid production, or one more free from passion or bigotry, would hardly be possible; and one of more able, manly discussion need not be desired. For the Roman Catholic, as a man and a Christian, Mr. Thompson has the broadest charity, rightly holding that for his dogmatic opinions and his religious worship and life he is responsible only to his God, and freely granting all that he claims for himself. With

Romanism as an ecclesiastical system he makes no quarrel, but insists that it is entitled to the same rights, privileges, and protection that any other Church may properly ask and no more. But with it as a political system, claiming for a mighty all-grasping, papal imperialism, supremacy over all governments and all human affairs, he raises the present issue.

And, truly considering the constant puttings forth of the Romish press, the frequent manifestoes of Romish dignitaries, and the proofs of their purposes in attempted legislation and united movements upon the ballot-box whenever opportunity offers of success, it would seem that none but the willfully blind could for a moment question the purpose and plans of the papal hierarchy. It is not easy for Americans, who see Methodists, Presbyterians, and others flourishing side by side under the equal protection of the laws and arrogating no peculiar privileges, to understand that the freedom which Rome demands is the complete subjugation of their laws and institutions to the pope, and liberty for him to be autocrat of their country, or that designs hostile to their free institutions are really entertained. Nevertheless, the facts of the hour precisely accord with the teachings of the history of a thousand years.

The body of Roman Catholics in the United States accept the dogma of papal infallibility within the domain of faith and morals. In their schools it is taught as a matter of religion by thousands of teachers, that the authority of the pope is supreme. Most of their priests and educators are foreigners, trained for the support and defense of the papacy, and acknowledging allegiance to Pius IX., to whom they believe God has given "full power over the whole world in both ecclesiastical and civil affairs." In their view, all human enactments which contravene his will are contrary to the law of God. The Church is above the State, and the pope is the head of the Church; his voice is the voice of the Church, infallible, and authoritative over the consciences of all good Catholics every-where. He is the expounder of God's law; and the Council of Baltimore, in 1866, declared that "in prescribing any thing contrary to that law, [of course as expounded by the pope,] the civil power transcends its authority, and has no claim on the obedience of the citizen." Every Romish bishop is solemnly sworn to be "faithful and obedient" to him, and to "defend and keep the Roman papacy and the royalties of St. Peter," and to "preserve, defend, and increase" "the rights, honors, privileges, and authority of our Lord the Pope."

The papal claim of divinely given authority over temporals is unequivocally made by Pius IX. "It is of necessity," he says; in order that the Roman pontiff may exercise the supreme power and authority divinely given to him by the Lord Christ himself, of feeding and ruling the entire flock of the Lord with fullest liberty, and may consult for the greater good of the Church, and its interests and needs, that he shall never be subject to any prince or civil power." If it be supposed that the reference is to Victor Emmanuel, let it be remembered that his "flock" is in all lands, and that it is denied that he can be a foreign prince anywhere, but is a *domestic* prince in every country where Catholics reside. In any conflict, then, between him and any civil government, his will must prevail or God is disobeyed, because the sovereignty divinely vested in him is infringed upon. Such are the pretensions of "the Hildebrand of the nineteenth century."

Mr. Thompson not only shows from numerous authorities what is the claim of temporal power put forth for the papacy, and the intensifying effect of the decree of infallibility, but enters into a full historical inquiry of its origin and growth, its conflicts with civil governments, and its influence upon the liberties of the people. It is a terrible picture that he spreads upon his canvas. The question of toleration in Maryland, of which so much Romish boast has been made, turns out not on that side. The Encyclical and Syllabus of Pius IX. receive appropriate notice, and are correctly shown to be a part of the great effort to lead the world back into the middle ages.

There cannot be the least doubt that the papal hierarchy are bent upon subduing the United States to the Pope of Rome. The danger is not immediate; but a papal empire and a free Republic cannot exist on the same soil. Mr. Thompson does not enter upon a discussion of the proper method of averting the danger, but seems to think that it is half done when the people are informed of the real state of the case. For them he has written rather than for scholars, yet the latter will linger with satisfaction over his pages.

Messianic Prophecy: Its Origin, Historical Character, and Relation to New Testament Fulfillment. By Dr. EDWARD RIEHM, Professor of Theology, Halle. Translated from the German, with the approbation of the Author, by the Rev John Jefferson. 12mo., pp. 266. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1876.

Dr. Riehm is one of the editors of the "Studien und Kritiken," and this little work first appeared in numbers in that scholarly

publication. He is eminent as a devout student of the Bible. The views unfolded in the numbers of the periodical attracted much attention, and in compliance with a general demand they were embodied in a volume, and rendered to our English and American world in a translation remarkable for its clearness and easy flow. It is a book of compressed erudition and thought, treating a large subject in small compass by analyzing principles, and furnishing an organon which the student can apply at his leisure in reading and studying the sacred oracles.

Messianic prediction, pictures of a good time coming, a time good and glorious from the holy luster that irradiates it, abound in the Old Testament prophecies. It usually appears in contrast either with the dark present, or with a dark future just preceding the good time, and to be gloriously overcome and compensated by it. And just here lies the difficulty for the interpreter. The golden age seems, in the prophet's description, just at hand. The celestial light is pouring its glory on the farther edge of a near mass of clouds; the clouds, pierced and streaked already by long golden wedges of splendor, will disappear, and then comes the full glory. For this difficult phenomenon in prophecy the genius of Hengstenberg had its solution. It was the theory of *vision.* The prophet was a *see-er.* It is abundantly provable that the prophet describes what is visible to the eye of his spirit. And as he looks to the future, the objects lying in line before his ray of sight appear connected; the time-space intervals between them being excluded from view. The time element is thence dropped out of prophecy, and the full antithesis between the glorious far future and the inglorious present and its immediate future, is left undiminished in order to cheer the dark with the light. And even when a given prophecy is not visional, still the visional influence remains, and the glory still skirts the cloud. It was Daniel who at length came in as pre-eminently the *time prophet*, measured the intervals, and told in definite, though symbolic, arithmetic, *when* the Anointed should appear. In the present volume Dr. Riehm writes to oppose this theory, and to substitute in its place the theory of "limitation of prophetic foresight." Prophetic inspiration did not infuse omniscience into the prophet's mind. It did not reconstruct his brain. It took him with the knowledge he possessed and offered him glimpses of the Messianic future, colored and limited by his necessary human narrowness. If there were literal mistake, the mistake must not be denied, but explained by placing ourselves in the

prophet's position, and it will then appear that the mistake is perfectly consistent with the *limited* inspiration. We see that there are, in fact, laws of the mistake, enabling us to calculate the error, and estimate the true amount of real truth. Riehm, therefore, agrees to surrender Daniel as being out of the range of these laws of prophecy. He surrenders half of Isaiah and Zechariah under the same regimen. Hereby he thinks "the way will be prepared for an understanding and reconciliation between the orthodox and the historico-critical direction of Old Testament science." In other words, he is showing that these surrenders of the canon can be made, and the established view of Messianic prophecy stand firm. Great as is the learning of our author, and unquestionable his piety, we cannot at present accept in fullness his views. We are not prepared to surrender the vision doctrine, nor to give up Daniel. We, nevertheless, largely accept the "limitation" theory, believing that it is extensively applicable in its place, and stands in no antagonism to the vision theory in *its* place.

We should do injustice to this little volume if we left the impression that this antagonism was its main work. On the contrary, the author shows with great clearness the reality of the prophetic connection of the Old Testament with the New. He first portrays those connections in their generic masses, and then shows how the application of specific predictions are controlled and directed by the generic. The inquisitive theological student, who desires that the prophetic pages of the Old Testament should not be a mass of mist before his eyes, or who is distressed either by apparent mistake and non-fulfillment, or by the apparent irrelevancy of many of the quotations of the Old Testament by the New, may find seed-thoughts and broad views here which will go far to clear his prospective. The last third of the book treats in detail the quotations of the New Testament, and the nature of the Messianic fulfillments.

The Christian Doctrine of Sin. By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrews; one of her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland. Small 12mo., pp. 243. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

From a few pages of our Synopsis of Reviews our readers will perceive that Dr. Tulloch is Broad-Church Presbyterian, occupying in Scotland very much the position of Stanley in England. The present volume may serve to show how large a residue is left, after all concessions to modern criticism, to the old evangelical theology. The doctrine of sin is here very much of a test point.

In Dr. Tulloch's view, Darwinism, the genetic derivation of all

species from a few primitives, does not of itself destroy the true idea of sin, but the additional views of the chief advocates of geneticism do. They mean that man is a mere growth from lower unconscious nature; and being mere necessary growth, *right* or *wrong*, in a moral sense, are terms of no meaning. All actions, as well as all limbs and fibers, are part of the growth. Hence a true doctrine of sin is a true refutation of these fatal deductions from geneticism.

This doctrine Dr. Tulloch explains and sustains by what may be in a sense called the *historical* argument. He first examines the views and feelings of mankind outside the area of revelation. Exploring human thought among savage tribes, through Egypt and Phenicia, through the Vedic and Hellenic mythologies, through Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism and Buddhism, and through the drama of ancient Greece, he finds a vague and undefined yet most unquestionable sense of sin in all the human race.

Entering, thence, the Old Testament, we find a far more elevated position and clearer atmosphere. A sole and supreme Deity, who is perfection and holiness impersonated, holds sin to be a complete opposition to himself. A law exists to lay its prohibitions upon all sin as rebellion against God. After all the most liberal concessions made to "criticism," of later documents interpolated, of errors in morality, and of failures of prophecy, and claiming the Old Testament to be a mere body of unquestionably old Hebraic literature, that Old Testament still stands alone in antiquity in its view of sin and holiness.

Passing into the New Testament it is easy to see that God appearing as the impersonation of goodness, and sin as his opposite, we have the very highest conception of the badness of sin. This is the key-note of the redemption unfolded in the gospels. In Paul we find a philosophy of sin. Of this Pauline view Dr. Tulloch gives a brief and not wholly satisfactory analysis. He clearly admits that *guilt*, in its true sense, cannot be hereditary. When the term *guilt* is applied by theology to the hereditary nature, he admits that the term is used out of its true sense, and that such use is condemnable as confusing the truth. It is gratifying to find Calvinism thus seeking to remedy the evil which the falsehood of her language, if not the falsehood of her meaning, has for so long a time produced.

Without the variegated richness of style belonging to Stanley, Tulloch is clear, animate, and very readable. The work is very suggestive, and we could wish it a broad circulation.

Tafsír Matí aur Marqus kí Injíl kí. Muallifa-o-Musannafa E Padrí T. J. Scott Sahib, M. A. Lucknow: Printed at the American Methodist Mission Press. 1875.

This is a translation, with modifications, into an Oriental language, of the first volume of a commentary on the New Testament, written in English by "Whedon sáhib." The translator is our missionary brother, Rev. Dr. T. J. Scott. It is no ordinary pleasure we experience in knowing that through our notes on the Gospels we are enabled to speak the things of the kingdom of heaven to our Hindu brethren. The translation is, of course, a sealed book to the author of the original, and so we call in our esteemed translator to furnish it a fitting notice.

Dr. Scott says: "The translation is in the Hindustani language, spoken by nearly one hundred millions of people, or perhaps ten millions more than speak the English. In this number both Hindus and Mohammedans are included. This translation, with the exception of some additions and omissions, keeps close to the English text. The omissions are where texts are plain to persons in the Eastern world. The Bible, being an Oriental book, needs in many places an interpretation for the western mind on points that are plain here. Again, there are points that require special comment in a pagan or Mussulman country. Some texts in the New Testament need special exposition and defense for a Moslem mind. Hence the omissions and additions mentioned.

"The native Church in her present state requires an exegetical literature. The Hindu mind is casting off the old faith, and there is with many a great tendency to cast off all faith. The Christian Scriptures are attacked, and our people must read and understand them. Just now we are beginning an era of commentary making. We have as yet but few attempts at native authorship. Your commentary on the New Testament will meet a want in this part of the world. I propose carrying (D. V.) the translation through all your volumes on the New Testament. The work so far has taken very well. The present volume has been done, as you see, in the Roman type, and it is proposed to issue another edition in the Persian type, available to a larger number of readers, but not so compact."

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Handbook of Methodism, Prepared for and Dedicated to the Methodist Church of India. By Rev. James Mudge, B.D. 12mo., pp. 484. Lucknow: American Methodist Mission. Rev. T. Craven, publisher. 1877.

It is a great gratification to receive from our mission-field at the antipodes so admirable a summary of Methodism as this volume

contains. It is a clear and joyous echo from India to America, bringing to us the clear expression of our own beloved evangelical Wesleyan doctrines and institutions. The volume is remarkable for clearness, conciseness, completeness, and symmetry; is true to our theology, and heartily loyal to our institutions and usages.

It is divided into three parts: The History of Methodism, the Doctrines of Methodism, and the Polity and Usages. Of the historical part, about ninety pages are given to the history of English Methodism, its founding and missions; about two hundred to American Methodist history and mission survey, including India. To the doctrinal part are given about eighty pages, and the remainder to polity and usages.

It is gratifying in particular to notice the explicitness with which our missionary theologian in the actual missionary-field maintains that more cheering view of the heathen condition which assumes that thousands are saved through Christ who never heard of Christ. On that subject, in accordance with our old Arminian standards, we maintained in a very full and strenuous chapter in our work on the Will the doctrine of heathen salvability, and have been sometimes told that such a view was adverse to the cause of missions. Our present reply is, let our missionaries decide that question. Mr. Mudge has quoted and re-echoed our strongest words on that topic.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Races of Man, and their Geographical Distribution. From the German of OSCAR PESCHEL. 12mo., pp. 528. 1876.

From the high source whence it comes it may be safely assumed that, apart from some of its speculations colored by the author's individualisms, this volume is the most valuable ethnographical manual yet published. So rapidly are materials gathered from fresh observations of travelers and experimentists accumulating, that he was disposed to make a new arrangement of races in his second edition. Such a fact is enough to check hasty speculation, and teach us patience and hope for ultimate truth.

The volume is divided into five general sections. The *first* treats man's place in creation, his unity, origin, and antiquity. The *second* treats the varying physical traits of men in brain, face, proportions, skin, and hair. The *third* discusses comparative lin-

guistics. The fourth traces the various supposed steps of man from savageism to civilization. The fifth analyzes the various races of mankind as they present themselves on the map of the world, reckoned by him as seven in number. Beginning with the lowest, the Australians, he ascends to the highest, whom he calls the Mediterranean race.

He believes, with Darwin, that all species are in some way derived by transmutation from lower orders, but rejects Darwin's "natural selection" as the mode. But the connecting link or links between man and the lower orders are, he thinks, lost, and may never be found; but if found, as they may be, they would be decisive. Hence the chasm is somewhat broad; and the increased acquaintance with races once supposed to be almost brutal so raises their reputation for intelligence as to broaden the interval between man and brute, and suggests the doctrine of human unity. And this unity is confirmed by the established fact that sexual conjunction between the most opposite races is prolific. We may, therefore, rather assume that there is amid variety a one *humanity.* But this humanity is of very high antiquity. To prove this he parades the old story of flint implements, Swiss lake dwellings, bone caves, and the rest of that vanity. He does not here furnish any thing new, and what he does furnish was not worth the paper and ink. On the other hand, he gives some remarkable testimony, showing how easily the hardy races of early men could rapidly fill the earth: "We will only observe in anticipation, that the more rude, and hence the more frugal and hardy, a people is, the more readily does it change its abode, so that, in their lowest stages of development, all families of people were capable of accomplishing the migrations which we have ascribed to them. The difficulties generally exist only in the imagination of the spoiled children of civilization. In Central Australia, where European explorers were exhausted by starvation, hordes of black men roam about, free of care; and if we are startled by the idea that, thousands of years ago, Asiatic tribes are supposed to have crossed Behring's Straits to people America, we quite forget that even at the present day a naked nation of fishermen still exists in Terra del Fuego, where the glaciers stretch down to the sea, and even into it."

Why, then, may not the human race in six or seven thousand years, beginning from the ancient civilization inherited from the antediluvian world, growing more barbarous as their distance of emigration increased, have populated the world from the Euphrates to Terra del Fuego? We see an immense deal of assumption, but

a small amount of proof to the contrary. Nothing that Peschel advances is unanswered by the great work on this subject of James C. Southall.

As to the first home of the human species, Peschel adopts the argument of Hæckel and others. That home was not on an island, for the islands have nearly all commenced to be inhabited during our historical period; a fact, we think, suggesting that man is less than seven thousand years old. It could not have been in America, for here are no animals approximating man; an argument that takes the development theory for granted. And this reason excludes Europe and Asia, and guides toward Africa. But not even Africa is satisfactory; for the human race is clearly not descended from apes, but from an earlier stem, from which both apes and man have branched. We are, therefore, pushed into the Indian Ocean, and must dredge up a lost continent at its bottom, of which Madagascar is one of the remnant summits. This submerged continent is to be named LEMURIA, from the *lemur*, an animal below the ape in development, and so nearer the stem whence ape and man diverged. Professor Marsh has dug up the primitive horse in America; let some explorer fish up the primitive man in Lemuria, so that science may rejoice in "the man on horseback."

A strong proof with Peschel of the unity of the human race is the existence of customs of a very peculiar character precisely alike among very distant peoples. As a marked instance we may mention that the custom, that when a child is born, the father, as well as the mother, should go to bed and undergo a "lying in," was found in ancient Corsica, in Borneo, in South America, and various other distant points. A dozen or so of such coincidences are quoted. These prove, he thinks, either a unity of racial origin, or a most extraordinary "psychical identity." It is remarkable, however, that he omits to mention some instances that point to a primeval origin in Western Asia. Not to insist on the "handled cross," there are the tradition of the flood, the serpent worship, and the remembrance of the golden or paradisaic age. These point to that region where both the Assyrian tablets and the Mosaic records agree that man originated, without ages of previous savageism, in full possession of a civilization. What right have our scientists to hold those significant customs and those recorded histories as *nihil?* We lay down Peschel's book more confirmed in the conviction than when we took it up in the unity of the human race, and its date according to the record. Pseudo-scientism prattles garrulously about "the prehistoric man;" but, to all present appearance, there

never was "a prehistoric man." The first man was historic man. Men locally prehistoric, that is, *unhistoric* barbarians, have plentifully existed. But we wait for the proof that history does not name the first man of the human race.

Religion, with Peschel, is a part of our own nature, and is an instinctive and gradually purifying truth. It is a growth in the race, and progresses with the growth of the race. Its lowest and universal form is Shamanism. A Shaman is one who professes to possess the power to deal with the occult powers of nature, whether by incantations, drugs, ceremonials, fetiches, sacrifices, or prayers. This Shamanism exists not only among uncivilized tribes, but shows traces of its power among our modern and most civilized nations. The supposition that our prayers influence the divine will, and obtain any answers or fulfillment from the divinity, he holds to be Shamanism. All intercourse between the divine and human spirit is thus cut off. Religion thus comes up from nature below; it does not come down from God above. His religion is, therefore, truly *natural* religion. This excludes not only all inspiration, miracle, prophecy, but all descending of the Spirit of God into our hearts. Yet Hebrew monotheism he views as the most remarkable of religious growths. Its culmination in Christianity is the highest natural religious development in human history. A survey of comparative theology proves the immense inferiority of all other systems to the Gospel as a religious attainment of humanity.

On the whole, we go to Peschel for physical and physiological facts, but not for biblical criticism or theology.

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Annual Record of Science and Industry, for 1876. Edited by SPENCER F. BAIRD, with the Assistance of Eminent Men of Science. 12mo., pp. 609. New York: Harper & Bros. 1877.

THE six-hundred and nine pages of this book are preceded by an Introduction of nearly two hundred and forty pages not therein counted. This Introduction consists of a survey of the progress made in each of the departments of science furnished by some eminent scientist in each department. The body of the work thereafter consists of brief paragraphs, arranged under classified heads, detailing the new inventions and discoveries of the year. Our scientific brethren are alive and working. Yet the year does not appear to have been signalized by any great scientific master-strokes.

This volume is, indeed, distinguished by a marked absence of

passages about the archæological proofs of the great antiquity of man with which the last volume was rife. We have no instructions about the measureless millions of ages and æons it would take for a savage tribe to make the stupendous transition from a rough stone to a rubbed stone, and from a stone without a hole in it to a stone with a hole in it. Measurements of ages by means of stalagmites, and peats, and extinct animals, do appear to be somewhat played out. Indeed, it is fairly acknowledged, (p. 293,) that one "interesting" instance of apparent remains of man in the tertiary was probably the work of beavers or friction of woods. The only report furnished of geologic man is a very slender one from Buenos Ayres. Meanwhile the learned editor never seems to have heard of the discovery of Schliemann, in his Trojan diggings, of a series of archeological strata in which the metal age precedes the stone age, all within the historic period, and so upsets the whole chronometric theory by implements. That forlorn fact, though given by Schliemann in the face of all Europe, receives no notice by the scientists, simply because it lays them upon their backs.

We next have the following "*death-blow*" *to the theory of central heat in the earth:*—

> The origin of the interior heat of the earth is treated of in a few words by Professor Mohr, who states that if the interior is still molten, it follows that the nearer we approach the nucleus, not only must the temperature increase, but must do so in an increasing ratio: so that for a given increase of temperature we require to penetrate into the interior of the earth through a decreasing number of feet. Now the deepest artesian well as yet executed is at Sperenberg, about twenty miles south of Berlin. This well was begun in 1867, and has already reached a depth of over 4,000 feet, at which depth Magnus measured the temperature (38·5° Reaumur) by means of his geothermometer. The observations of temperature that have been made in this well were executed with the greatest care, each position of the thermometer being cut off from connection with the upper or lower portions of the well by plugging up the tube. The most probable results of these measures are given in the following table:—

Depth. Prussian Feet.	Temperature Reaumur.	Depth. Prussian Feet.	Temperature Reaumur.
700	15·654 deg.	1700	25·623 deg.
900	17·849 "	1900	27·315 "
1100	19·943 "	2100	28·906 "
1300	21·931 "	3390	36·756 "
1500	23·830 "	4052	38·500 "

> There results from these measurements a very remarkable but well-established result—that the rate of increase of temperature is continuously growing less as we descend. This increase diminishes at the rate of one twentieth of a degree for every hundred feet, so that it is easy to compute at what depth the temperature will cease to increase. This depth is found to be the very moderate one of 5,190 feet, at which a temperature of about forty degrees might be expected to prevail. Even if we do not attribute absolute accuracy to these observations, yet we see that a constant temperature must be attained at a depth far within twenty miles; and that the temperature itself even at that depth must be far less than the melting-point of the rocks. The result of these observations at Sperenberg is therefore completely in accordance with those deduced by Vogt from operations at the arte-

> sian well at Grenelle; and if we attribute any value at all to these calculations, they seem to give a death-blow to the Plutonic theories of former geologists.—P. 119.

What then becomes of the "nebular hypothesis?" What of that grand cosmogony according to which, by purely physical forces, the planets were assigned their places and the solar system was framed?

On the subject of *Archebiosis*, or the origin of living beings by "spontaneous generation," the following seems to be the situation:—

> The Tyndall and Bastian controversy is still *sub-judice.* The simple question is, Can air retaining all its gaseous mixtures, but self-cleansed from mechanically suspended matter, produce putrefaction? In all the various experiments made by Dr. Tyndall, when the substances were exposed to common air at a temperature of 60° to 70°, all fell into a state of putrefaction in from two to four days—not one in six hundred escaped; but in no instance did air which had been proved moteless by passing a concentrated beam of light through it show the least power of producing bacterial life, or the associated phenomena of putrefaction. Both sides are preparing further experiments. Thus far, however, Dr. Tyndall has come out of the controversy with all the weight of scientific evidence and philosophic gravity of discussion on his side, while Dr. Bastian has done injury to his cause by adopting the well-known symptom of defeat, "abuse of the plaintiff's attorney."—P. 281.

We can easily imagine that with both Huxley and Tyndall it is very much against the grain that transition from inorganic matter to living organic cannot be demonstratively traced. It would, in the present state of the question, greatly aid their theories of genetic evolution. Nevertheless, denote it by a good straight mark, that they firmly adhere to the truth of the matter.

Another defeat of Huxley is the refutation of his whimsey about "bathybius." This "bathybius" is the name given by him to a sort of slime which the visionary professor imagined to be the intermediate between non-life and life, the transition stage from inanimate to animate existence. The following paragraph contains his confession, as well as a statement that even his confession was a blunder:—

> Professor Wyville Thompson, in a letter to Mr. Huxley, says that the best efforts of the *Challenger* have failed to discover *bathybius* in a fresh condition; and Professor Huxley states that it is seriously suspected that the thing to which he gave this name is little more than sulphate of lime precipitated in a flocculent state from the sea-water by the strong alcohol. It is much more likely that what Professor Huxley observed was the gelatinous secretion of *diatomaceæ*, which is produced in immense abundance in the ocean depths, and which behaves, under chemical reagents, very much like the so-called *bathybius.*—P. 342.

The following are the results of experiments upon the *physiological action of alcohol*—

> Dr. Lander Brunton, in a summary of a memoir before the Medical Society of London regarding the physiological action of alcohol, states that in small quanti-

ties it increases the secretions of the gastric juice, and thus aids digestion. However unnecessary this may be in health, it is useful for the feeble and debilitated. Second, it increases the force and frequency of the pulse. Third, a large dose diminishes digestion by the too great irritation of the stomach. Fourth, it is capable of producing death by reflex action. Fifth, after absorption in the blood it diminishes the power of oxidizing the globules of the blood. This is useful in lowering the temperature; but when this is done suddenly or very frequently, it causes an accumulation of fat and a fatty degeneration of the organs. Sixth, it undergoes a sort of combustion in the organism, and maintains the increase of weight of the body. In this respect it may be considered as a food. Seventh, if taken in large doses, a portion is excreted in an unaltered condition. Eighth, it dilates the blood-vessels, increasing the force and frequency of pulsations of the heart by its action on the central nerves, and facilitates intellectual and physical action. It does not give any greater power, but renders a man capable of keeping more energy in reserve. It can thus furnish assistance to effort of short duration, but not for prolonged exercise. Ninth, it has the same effect upon the heart; but in disease alcohol frequently relaxes the pulsations of this organ instead of accelerating them, thus economizing the energy instead of wasting it. Tenth, in dilating the vessels of the skin, alcohol cools the surface at the expense of the internal organs. It is thus injurious when taken during exposure, but after such exposure it is useful as tending to prevent the congestion of the internal organs. Eleventh, the symptoms of intoxication are due to a paralysis of the nervous system; the brain and the cerebellum are first affected, then the protuberance, and finally the medulla oblongata. Death by alcohol is generally caused by paralysis of the medulla.—P. 286.

Every student of the scientific progress of the day will find this series of annuals very valuable.

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The Problem of Problems, and its Various Solutions; or, Atheism, Darwinism, and Theism. By CLARK BRADEN. President of Abingdon College, Illinois. 12mo., pp 480. Cincinnati: Chase & Hall. 1877.

President Braden here furnishes the general result of lectures, articles, and public debates, in which he has discussed, often in the face of opponents present, the great question of the origin of things in its relations to revelation and science. His book, therefore, stands like an ancient trophy made up of the spoils of fight and claimed victory. It is offered as a comprehensive and compact survey of the whole field of debate, as it appears before the popular and thoughtful mind of the day. As such, it exhibits no little breadth and power, and is for effective purposes the best, if not the only, synoptic view of the subject in its totality. It claims this character, however, under the drawback of a style never elegant though often strong, and a mechanical execution, material, and proof-reading of no very high grade. The diction, especially in the large appendix, is culpably careless, and on one couple of pages we have a story told us of a Mormon and his wives which we read in our boyhood's edition of Æsop's Fables, some decades earlier than the apostolate of Joseph Smith.

The author first presents at large a comprehensive view of the magnitude of the subject, enabling us to feel that it opens the

broadest field possible for human thought, not for science alone, but for philosophy and religion. Next he discusses the means we have for the solving this great problem, showing that our highest intuitive faculties are the truest instruments, and that the great error of scientists is their aiming to exclude these faculties from testifying, and struggling to make the sense faculties sole and supreme. Then comes a section on the failures of modern scientism to solve the problem, in which he grapples with the facts, and assumes to show that evolutionism, as presented by Darwin, Huxley, and Tyndal, gives us no satisfactory solution. The great argument then closes with an extended proof that Theism alone does solve the problem. We have then an appendix, in which a number of special topics belonging to the subject is discussed. Among them we especially note a reply to Huxley's late lectures in New York, and a dealing with the biblical contradictions of science.

The most effective argument of the present day for Atheism, stated in brief form, is: "If the great world requires a creator to produce it, much more does the infinite God need a creator to produce him. You say God made the world; who, then, made God?" This argument originated with Hume, and no well-conducted atheistic defense ever omits it. Various replies have been given, but none we have seen better than Mr. Braden's, which we here give as a fair specimen of his style. He is showing that when we arrive at the infinite we rightly stop:—

> From finite space we rise through relatively infinite space to absolutely infinite space. Here we stop. Reason does not ask what bounds absolute space, knowing that because it is absolute it can have no boundary or limitation. In like manner, we rise from finite duration, through relatively infinite duration, to absolute duration, or eternity; and reason stops, knowing that absolute duration, being absolute, has no limitation, and no beginning or end. In like manner, from finite displays of causation reason rises through relatively infinite displays of causation to absolute causation. From finite displays of intelligent causation, reason rises through relatively infinite displays of intelligent causation to absolute intelligent cause. Reason does not ask what caused absolute intelligent cause, any more than it asks what bounds absolute space, or what preceded or succeeds absolute duration, knowing that as absolute space can have no limit because absolute, and absolute duration neither beginning nor end, because absolute, so absolute intelligent cause can have no limitation in causation or being, and can have no cause, because absolute. The attempted extension of the argument is as absurd as it would be to continue to apply the limitation and boundaries of finite space or duration to absolute space or duration. As one is absurd and a violation of all reason, so is the other.—P. 393.

He then adds a conclusive retort upon Spencer, (as Mr. Bowne had brilliantly done before him,) by showing that Spencer's Unknown Absolute just as truly requires an antecedent Maker as the Theist's deity.

The Mosaic Cosmogony he holds to be a Psalm of the Creation, not a literal detail responsible to science. His account of the origin of the early Genesis chapters appears not to be very clear. Of the two records, that of the Assyrian tablets as deciphered by George Smith, and the Mosaic, he admits the former to be the earlier, and thinks that Moses collected his account from various quarters. Now we prefer to say that the Mosaic is the pure and primitive, and the bricks the late and corrupted. The latter he may call Accadian, the former is Shemitic. The one is polytheistic, the other monotheistic. Both came from Chaldea; the latter being brought thence to Palestine by Abraham, inherited from Shem, and preserved with the Shemitic genealogies and other traditions in the Abrahamic family. Assuming the great age of the patriarchs, how easy the preservation of these primitive documents in written or oral form. The true author of the cosmogony may have been Adam; the true author of the narrative of the flood (which Tayler Lewis so strikingly showed to possess all the traits of an autoptic journal) may have been Shem. Most assuredly, according to Moses' own account, there was a well-retained and traceable line of descent from Adam to Moses. Of course, then, the Genesis history came down that line, and is primitive and pure, as it is monotheistic. The Assyrian tablet version is depraved, fabulous, and polytheistic, yet useful as a corroboration of the Mosaic.

Some parts of the reply to Huxley are ingenious, and original, we believe, with Mr. Braden. The four successive forms of the horse, which Huxley holds to be deduced by evolution, our author maintains to be four different species. They are no more nearly connected than the horse, zebra, ass, and gnu; which are demonstrated to be different species by the test of non-prolificacy. This view he holds to be confirmed by the fact that one of Huxley's four horses, the *orohippos*, though drawn in Huxley's diagrams as large as the rest, was really *no larger than a fox.* Finally, the series of horses, like the series of canoe, boat, ship, and steamer, is a development through the mind of the Creator and not by generation. To this last argument, the scientist will reply that development by generation is natural, development by creation supernatural; and that science never admits the supernatural when the natural suffices to solve the problem. This is with scientists the decisive argument, in view of which they seem to be stampeding into Darwinism. The only reply we know is that derivation by generation is, indeed, natural within the limits of a

given species, but not natural from one species to another. A leap from species to species requires the supernatural. And that brings on the complex argument about the nature of species, whirling us into logical circles. Mr. Braden would go far toward settling that question if he could demonstrate his position that a specific *life-power* limits the species:—

> Similarity of structure does not prove sameness of species, nor is structure the highest standard in determining species. The real distinction lies outside of observation. It is in the life-power; that produces progeny like the parent, although the germs of animals be in structure precisely alike. And the same life-power or principle refuses to hybridize in different species, although the germs brought in contact are precisely alike in structure.—P. 434.

The Microscopist: A Manual of Microscopy and Compendium of the Microscopic Sciences. Micro-Mineralogy, Micro-Chemistry, Biology, Histology, and Pathological Histology. Third Edition. Rewritten and greatly enlarged. With two hundred and five Illustrations. By J. H. WYTHE, M.D., Professor of Microscopy and Biology in the Medical College of the Pacific, San Francisco. 8vo., pp. 259. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1877.

This is the latest edition of a work which has maintained its standing as a reference book in microscopy for twenty-five years, undergoing the changes required by the rapid growth of the science it treats. It first gives a descriptive history of the origin and improvements of the microscope, from the earliest perception of the magnifying power of certain media to the present wonderful perfection of the instrument. It then describes the uses of the microscope, laying down principles and giving judicious practical directions, to aid the young microscopist in his work. And then the main body of the work is devoted to a tracing the applications of the instrument to the wide range of the sciences. And wonderful are the revelations it makes by enabling our senses to travel downward toward the infinitely minute. Herein the microscope rivals the telescope. The world of the small is even more wonderful, certainly more paradoxical and surprising, than the world of the great. What limit is there to the universe downward? The various applications of the microscope to the sciences are unfolded by Dr. Wythe with great clearness and beauty, and his descriptions are rendered luminous by the great number of engraved illustrations. Nothing is more fascinating than the romance of nature strangely opened up to the eye of man by this peculiar instrument.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Mohammed and Mohammedanism. Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in February and March, 1874. By R. BOSWORTH SMITH, M. A., Assistant Master in Harrow School, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. With an Appendix containing Emanuel Deutsch's article on "Islam." 12mo., pp. 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.

Christianity and Islam. The Bible and the Koran. Four Lectures, by the Rev. R. W. R. STEPHENS, Prebendary of Chichester. 12mo., pp. 169. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877. Price, $1 25.

Bosworth Smith's book is a very eloquent advocacy of Mohammedanism as pretty much a sect of Christianity, requiring a generous recognition and a changed mode of treatment by our missionaries, under assumption that the number of the sect is increasing, and can never be converted. Mr. Smith is of a "broad Church," exceedingly "broad." His character is so scholarly, his style so flowing, and his spirit so generous, that it is easy to close his book in a very genial spirit of pro-Mohammedan charity.

Quite as able, as scholarly, as elegant in style, is Mr. Stephens in his reply. Freely and gladly admitting all that is good in Mohammed, his religion, and his followers, he, nevertheless, firmly describes the evils of the Mohammedan system, and its baneful effects, as tested by its almost uniform history, among the nations it has ruled. The study of these two works will be a great aid in forming an impartial decision upon the merits of Islam and the Turk, as well as upon the chronic problem of the "eastern question."

Charles Kingsley, his Letters and Memoirs of his Life. Edited by his Wife. Abridged from the London Edition. 12mo., pp. 501. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. Price, $2 50.

Charles Kingsley was a decided unique. He was endurably so, because consistently and naturally so. Like Byron's Hunchback when reproached by his mother for his deformity, he could retort, "I was born so, mother." He enacted no artificial fantastics for effect. And what proves this is the fact that, taken as a whole, his incongruities formed a sort of total symmetry. In fact it may be said that a one idea predominated through his life and writings. That idea was, the so bringing religion to bear upon our modern life and character as to form us to a true and noble manhood. This thought has been trenchantly, but not quite truly, nor really *by him*, condensed into the phrase "muscular Christianity." His idea of a real saint was not a medieval monastic, but a Christian manly man of this our nineteenth century. His fidelity to

this idea he manifested in his rural pastorate at Eversley, in which he seemed to magnetize every individual with his own personal Christianity. There was in him a tendency to diverge from established notions, a proclivity to heresy. He was a restorationist, a Broad-Churchman, a Darwinian, and a believer in brute immortality. Yet he took good care to rein himself within the limits of the Thirty-nine Articles, professed an intense belief of both head and heart in the Athanasian Creed, and learned how to soar from Broad-Churchism up to a pretty decided High-Churchism. Our impression is that he grew in Orthodoxy as he grew in age. Early suspected of radicalism, he smoothened his front until high ecclesiasticism was surprised to find how genial he was. He became Canon of Westminster; hints are given that he might have become a bishop; and had his muscularity been solider and so his life longer, he might uniquely have become a High-Church and high-tory Archbishop of Canterbury. There are a freshness and individuality about his writings, and a coloring in his biography, that render them very attractive, instructive, and improving reading.

The Cruise of her Majesty's Ship "Challenger." Voyages over many Seas, Scenes in many Lands. By W. J. J. Spry, R. N. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Her Majesty's ship has been for some years engaged in exploring the depths of old ocean by means of dredging apparatus. Her investigations have dispersed some old notions that claimed to be "science," and added some new and very interesting facts to the stock of scientific knowledge. The present volume, however, narrates mostly scenes and events above the surface, and is popular in its character. The ship started from England, and with a devious course—visiting a great variety of points, passed around the south coast of Africa, cut through the Indian Ocean to China and Japan, thence down the American western coast through the Straits of Magellan—returned homeward after having circumnavigated the globe.

Across Africa. By Verney Lovett Cameron, C.B., D.C.L., Commander Royal Navy. With numerous Illustrations. 8vo. Red and Gilt. Pp. 508. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

This bold crossing from Indian to Atlantic Ocean was a sublime insult to the venerable and mysterious continent. It was ominous that she must surrender her secrets to science, and prepare for the reign of a coming civilization. The direct motive of Cameron was the humane project of discovering Livingstone, and he suc-

ceeded in finding his corpse, doing it honors, and sending it homeward. The closing three chapters furnish the energetic traveler's views of the physical geography and the moral future of Africa. He believes that the slave-traffic may be made to give place to a legitimate commerce. The beautiful map and copious illustrations aid in making large additions to our knowledge of the country and the grade of its native civilization.

Educational.

Gustavus Bickel's New Hebrew Grammar.

The attention of American students has been so largely directed toward the Aryan languages that they have almost entirely overlooked the progress that has, in the last fifty years, been made in the domain of Semitic philology. The fact in the case, briefly stated, is, that the methods that have in this period produced the most abundant and satisfactory results in one of these departments of linguistic science have been applied with hardly less success in the other.

Sixty years ago Gesenius published his "Lehrgebäude," a book in which he embodied "the empirical facts" of the Hebrew language interpreted, to some extent, in accordance with the comparative method. He said in the preface: "My aim has been in general, on the one hand, a complete and critical observation and presentation of the grammatical phenomena; on the other, as correct and analogous an explanation as is possible of the results of observation." He was, however, unable perfectly to free himself from the fetters of tradition.

Six years later Ewald appeared as a grammarian. A sentence from one of his prefaces is characteristic of the man. He said: "One may hold the languages of the Bible never so high, and place these books above all others, yet they, also, must follow the eternal laws of all languages, for upon this material foundation rises all that is spiritual which they contain." He agreed with Gesenius upon the position of the Hebrew among the other members of the Semitic family, but not upon the original form of Semitic roots. He did not live to complete the application of the comparative method, to which he was devoted. Justus Olshausen, whose excellent "Lehrbuch" was published in 1861, in the opinion of the latest Hebrew grammarian, "first succeeded, by the consistent use of the historico-critical and comparative

method, in tracing the linguistic phenomena to their source." The latest Hebrew grammarian is Gustavus Bickel, D.D., Professor of Theology at Innsbruck, whose little work has been pronounced by one of the most competent judges "the best Hebrew grammar yet written." The occasion for calling attention to it at this time is its recent translation, by Rev. Samuel Ives Curtiss, Ph.D., an American, who was a year ago honored with a degree by the University of Leipsic.

The translation is entitled, "Outlines of Hebrew Grammar." It is not of so *discouraging* proportions as German "Grundrisse" commonly assume, being a neat octavo volume of a hundred and forty pages handsomely printed by F. A. Brockhaus, of Leipsic, and bound in English cloth.

The book is divided into five parts: I. History of the Hebrew Language and Writing; II. Phonology; III. Doctrine of the Formation of Stems; IV. Doctrine of the Formation of Words; V. Syntax.

In the first part Professor Bickel takes issue with Gesenius and Ewald, asserting, with Olshausen, that the Hebrew language is the *niece* and not the *aunt* of the Arabic; that, in other words, the Hebrew has developed beyond the stage in which the Arabic is found. This is an important distinction.

The author in the same, and again in the third part, very decidedly asserts the biliterality of the original words, in this particular agreeing with Gesenius and Olshausen, but disagreeing with Ewald.

In the second part one finds several departures from the theories of Olshausen, by which the author in fact justifies himself in giving to the world his work.

The third and fourth parts show how completely Professor Bickel, by the aid of his theories respecting their origin, has transferred himself to the pre-historic period, when the several members of the Semitic family only potentially existed. The justice of his conclusions depends, of course, upon the validity of the premises from which they are deduced.

The fifth part is evidently added merely for the sake of giving to the book a certain completeness. It contains nothing striking.

The style in which the book is written is strikingly bold and epigrammatic. One is often startled by the confidence with which the author presents his views, and astonished at the extent of his generalizations. It is, in truth, a succinct and fearless statement of the latest deliverances of science touching the

language. It is not intended for novices. One needs to have a good degree of acquaintance with its subject in order to its appreciation. It cannot but be of great usefulness to the Semitic scholar.

The work is rendered additionally valuable by a short treatise on the accents by Professor Franz Delitzsch, of Leipsic, and a table of Semitic characters, the most complete thing of its kind, by Dr. Julius Euting of Strasburg.

Dr. Curtiss deserves great praise for the patience and industry which is displayed in the translation. He has not only rendered the original into excellent English, but added many notes, especially bibliographical, of great value, and three indices, which make nearly every sentence available at a moment's notice.

H. G. M.

◆

L. Annæus Seneca. Treatises on Providence; on Tranquillity of Mind; on Shortness of Life; on Happy Life: together with select Epistles, Epigrammata, an Introduction, copious Notes, and Scripture Parallelisms. By JOHN F. HURST, D.D., President of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., and HENRY C. WHITING, Ph. D., Professor of Ancient Languages of the Centenary Collegiate Institute, Hackettstown, N. J. 12mo., pp. 308. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Seneca was among the first philosophers who, as Lecky says, took to preaching; and so well did he preach that Jerome, and others of the early Church, were willing to give him not only "local preacher's license," but even a title to saintship. His history was memorable, as first the tutor and guardian of Nero, and then the martyr of his cruelty. His life, save some submissive flatteries to tyranny, was pure. His death does not exhibit all the dignity of a dying Socrates, as painted by Plato; but it was such as to to command our high respect and our profound sympathy.

This is a beautiful edition, made up of choice selections. It is adapted primarily to academic or university classes, but will be acceptable to all readers who desire aids in running over one of the noblest Roman classics. The list of authorities used is ample. The introduction exhibits Seneca's character and place in history and literature. The notes are full, presenting an analysis of the argument of each piece, abounding in references to grammars and other sources of information, furnishing no verbal analyses from comparative philology, solving the difficult problems of the author's meaning by brief translations, and supplying in brief all needed illustrations. The attention of professors and scholars is called to this fine classic.

Aids to Latin Orthography. By WILHELM BRAMBACH. Translated from the German, with the Author's sanction, by W. GORDON M'CABE, A.M., Master of the University School, Petersburgh, Virginia. 24mo., pp. 165. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Our Latin scholars are discussing two reforms in the teaching of their favorite language. The first is the revival of the ancient pronunciation, so as to utter appropriately the spelled word as it would have been pronounced by a real ancient Roman, and not as it would be naturally pronounced by a recent Yankee. The second is to spell the word as each author spelled it, as appears by old codices and inscriptions, and not by an artificial uniformity imposed upon all our Latin editions by modern grammarians. If a language is to be taught at all, it seems desirable, *first*, that it should be written right, *second*, pronounced right. Both *reforms* aim at truth; at presenting the Latin as it really is, and not as it is transformed by both an unhistorical orthoepy and an unhistorical orthography.

This little manual is a translation of Brambach's Hülfsbüchlein, published in 1872. The Trübners of Leipsig, upon the publication of that work, formed the purpose of conforming their future Latin editions to the reformed orthography. The Latin school-masters of even conservative England are working in that direction. Professor B. L. Gildersleeve's Latin Primer, Philadelphia, adopts it, and the revised edition of Andrew's Latin Lexicon will adopt it.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Ueber die religiösen und kirchenpolitischen Fragen der Gegenwart. Von Dr. J. FROSCHAMMER. Elberfeld: Ed. Loll.

A collection of essays which had mostly already appeared in German journals, and which treat of the prominent religious and ecclesiastical crises of the day. Dr. Froschammer is an extreme Old Catholic, so extreme that he will not stop with Döllinger and Reinkens, but is in danger of passing beyond the most extreme Protestant orthodoxy. Formerly a priest and professor of Roman Catholic theology in the University of Munich, he is now there professor of philosophy. The best manifesto of his position he gave some time since in his "New Knowledge and New Faith," (*Das neue Wissen und der neue Glaube*, Brockhaus, Leipzig,) a book that was called out by and was in some sense a rejoinder to Dr. Strauss' "Old and New Faith." The author regards Dr.

Strauss' "*Leben Jesu*" as having done a good indirect service to essential Christianity by the fearful shock which it gave to an over-literal and almost somnolescent orthodoxy, and by the rich stream of earnestly critical investigation of the fundamentals of Christianity to which it gave the impulse. But Strauss failed to comprehend his own significance. After having in his first book rejected and refuted an excessive irrational *super*-humanism, in his last book he exhibits himself as a fanatical devotee of a no less irrational and materialistic *sub*-humanism. And upon this new idol he lavished a faith which was, to say the very least, no less blind and illogical than the orthodox faith which he previously so fiercely assailed. His course was but of a piece with the general tendency of unbelief. And it is now quite clear that we are having to do with a popery of atheism and materialism which is not a whit less fanatical and intolerant toward dissenters than the old popery of the Seven Hills. In fact, the spirit of the two poperies is, step for step, the very same; the same lofty arrogance, and the same depreciation and contempt of those products of the highest thinking of the race—metaphysics and philosophy. The chief weapon of both is precisely the same—*dogmatic assertion*. But we have to express over Dr. Froschammer the same regrets which he expresses over Strauss. After he has broken away from the fables of Rome, and rejected the intolerance of papal-minded Protestants, why was it necessary for him to doubt the miracles of the New Testament, and to question the generic difference between Christianity and the other historical religions of the race? Still the personal Creator of the universe in whom he believes, and the essential Christian theism which he defends, are infinitely above the vague Christianity that is preached from the skeptical pulpits of some so-called Churches of Christ. But the chief significance of Dr. Froschammer is as an iconoclast. As a popular exposer of the dangerousness of the priestly spirit he is without many equals.

Die altkatholische Kirche des Erzbisthums Utrecht. Von Fr. NIPPOLD. Heidelberg: Bassermann.

In this account of the Old Catholic Church of Utrecht Professor Nippold has done a favor to all friends of the Döllinger protest against the Vatican Council, as well as to all who lay much emphasis upon a contactually-created succession of holy orders. The existence of this regularly-descended branch of the Roman Church was an exceedingly opportune thing for the Döllinger party. But

for this opportunity of obtaining "regular" bishops the movement would long since have collapsed and vanished. Professor Nippold, though as skeptical as even a Methodist about the value of regular orders, shows here the several steps in the indisputable regularity of descent of the episcopal office which came from Utrecht to the first bishop of the Old Catholics of Germany. He also gives a good summary of the whole literature of the subject.

The Church of Utrecht dates from the early Dark Ages. In the time of Charles V. it was raised to an archbishopric, as a counterpoise to the inroads of the Reformation. A regular series of archbishops now follows, in full communion with Rome, down to the year 1689, when Peter Codde is elected to the office, and is consecrated by the archbishop of Malines and Brussels. The Church of Utrecht now fell into ill odor at Rome because of its opposition to the laxness of the Jesuits and its favoring of the austere purity of the Jansenists. In 1694 Archbishop Codde was formally accused at Rome of Jansenism; but a committee of cardinals, the president of which became afterward Pope Clement XI., entirely acquitted him. But the suspicion of heresy grew from year to year. He was mercilessly assailed in anonymous Jesuit tracts. He appealed to Rome for a fair investigation of the charges, but in vain. He then sent a written defense of himself to the pope. With what result? On Sept. 25, 1699, his deposition is resolved upon in the greatest secrecy; and on the same day the Propaganda invite him to come to Rome to attend a great festival! He was deposed. Upon his return he persisted in his condemned religious convictions, but desisted from exercising his office. He died in 1710 under the ban of the Church, and was by the Jesuits denied churchly burial. The clergy of Utrecht protested against his deposition. More than one hundred and forty refused passive acquiescence with the tyranny of Rome. But they were without a bishop. How did they get one? In 1719 Varlet, a French prelate, titular bishop of Babylon, passes through Holland. In 1724 he yields to the prayers of the clergy, and in due papal form, assisted by two regular priests, ordains Cornelius Steenoven to the office of archbishop of Utrecht. The pope at once excommunicated him. Steenoven died at the end of a few months. Again Varlet was called on, and Barchman was made archbishop. Barchman died in 1733. Again the Church of Utrecht was without a bishop. But Varlet was still alive. He lived to make two more archbishops—Van der Croon, in 1733, and Meindaerts, in 1736. Each new archbishop announced in turn to the pope his

election and consecration, and was regularly answered by excommunication. In 1742 Bishop Varlet died. To guard against the interruption of the episcopal succession, De Bock was now made bishop of Haarlem. In 1758 a third bishop was consecrated for Deventer. Archbishop Meindaerts was succeeded by Nieumenhuysen in 1768, and the latter by Van Rhyn in 1797. Van Rhyn was mysteriously visited by a Jesuit in 1808, and shortly after died of poison! Napoleon Bonaparte thereupon forbade a new consecration. Two years later the bishop of Haarlem died. Only the aged bishop of Deventer was now left. How easily, also, he might drop off. In fact he actually did fall into the water, and narrowly escaped drowning. On the fall of Napoleon, in 1814, the aged bishop was permitted to remedy the danger. He consecrated Van Os as archbishop of Utrecht. In 1819 John Bon was set apart to the vacant bishopric of Haarlem. Once again, in 1825, the succession seemed to be in danger—John Bon being the sole living bishop. At once he proceeded to consecrate Van Bet, bishop of Deventer, and Van Santen, archbishop of Utrecht. Bishop Bon was succeeded by Van Buul in 1843. Bishop Bet gave place to Heykamp in 1854. Archbishop Van Santen was succeeded by Henry Loos in 1858. In 1865 Van Buul was succeeded by De Jong.

In 1873, when the congress of Old Catholics met at Cologne, only the archbishop, Loos, and the bishop, Heykamp, were living, and the very day of the election of Bishop Reinkens (June 4) the archbishop died. So that again it was only by the single bishop, Heykamp, that episcopal orders were conveyed from the old feeble Church of Holland to the now aggressive Church of the Old Catholics of Germany and Switzerland. Thus the revivers of a contactual apostolic succession see here abundant pretext for recognizing a very special divine providence in the saving of this line of true bishops through so many dangers. At any rate, it came in very good play, and answered its end just as well as if it had in fact been saved through those one hundred and seventy-four years by special miracle.

Mr. Nippold's book is almost tragic in its depiction of the heroic courage of the little Church of Utrecht in holding up its head in the face of such a long series of papal anathemas.

Christliche Apologetik auf anthropologischer Grundlage. Von C. E. BAUMSTARK. Frankfurt: Heyder & Zimmer.

An apology for Christianity based on anthropology. Its argument is: Show how fully humanity needs just such a religion as Christianity proves to be, and you establish a strong presumption that it is *the* absolutely true religion. Mr. Baumstark's work is as yet incomplete. In the first volume he treats of man in three respects—as a spiritual, an individual, and a religious being; and, then, gives a critical survey of all the extra-Christian religions. In the first two hundred and twenty-five pages he carries on, incidentally, a very brisk polemic with the chiefs of contemporary unbelief in its Protean forms. His chapter on conscience is an able discussion. He defines conscience as the subjective knowledge of a higher law as organically impressed upon our spiritual nature, a law whose content is the norm of our moral life. It is through conscience alone that an objective law is imposed upon our other powers. Conscience is a positive legislator; our other voluntary powers are normally subordinate to it; hence the conscience is specific in nature and supreme in authority.

Pamphlets.

Ninth Annual Report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 8vo., pp. 48. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern.

We hear it said by our democratic brethren that "President Hayes has appropriated (stolen, we believe, is their polite term) the democratic policy." We rejoice to hear it; for then, however much they may depreciate Mr. Hayes, they must approve the "policy." If they honestly love the "policy," they must love to see it carried out; and so there is ground for so much gratification. On the other side, also, there is a ground for gratification which our democratic friend omits to mention. President Hayes, before adopting the democratic policy, exacted of the democrats that *they should first adopt the republican policy!* And they did it. The republican policy is the enfranchisement, the education, and the secured rights before the law of all citizens, white or black. And that policy has been conceded in the strongest terms by Governor Drew, of Florida, by the Legislature of Louisiana, and by Governor Hampton, of South Carolina, all in their character of representative men. In the hands of the President, therefore,

the two policies are one, the republican policy underlying the democratic. We are aware that the extremes of both parties are vexed because this unique conciliation is effected; but even a Bourbon cannot long hold mad just *because* there is nothing to be mad at.

The above-named frank avowals by southern governors and statesmen in favor of Negro education is of the most cheering character; especially cheering when we remember that it is little more than a decade since Negro education was in the South a penal offense. In these avowals we would cherish full confidence, and honor the men who utter them. They should be sustained and cheered by all the support of Northern approbation.

That ancient and able political paper, the "Richmond Enquirer," not long since said truly, that for the removal of the national troops the South had not "to thank the grace of Hayes." The President truly inherited that policy from Grant, and was obligated to it by the position of both the Senate and House. But the "Enquirer" sadly forgets whose "grace" it should thank for said removal. It was the "grace" of the four northern States who in the late presidential election voted with the South. It would be well for the "Enquirer" and his co-thinkers to beware how, in the rampancy of sure future triumph, they forfeit that "grace." Let them beware of three things. The first is the attempt to force a "solid South," with a palpable aim at sectional supremacy; the second is the attempt to empty the national treasury into the pockets of the South, in the form of compensation for war losses and slave emancipation; the third is the continuance of violence, either in the form of Negro massacres, or proscription of northern men. The Constitution affords no means of restoring the interference of soldiery; but the northern ballot-box remains. And so long as political murders systematically continue under legal impunity, the vote of the North will send back a response.

We cherish the hope, however, that the relations of the two races in the South are slowly assuming the best practicable shape. The able correspondent of the "New York Tribune" thus reports from Georgia:—

> The blacks have all sorts of rights except the right to mass their votes and control an election. That they never will enjoy again, and it is as fortunate for them as for the whites that such is the case. The result of white supremacy in the State and local governments is the growth of good feeling between the races. The whites vote to tax themselves to sustain free schools for the blacks, while, under the rule of the Negroes and the carpet-baggers, they considered such taxation oppressive. At that time a black military company was looked upon with hatred and dread. Now there are six colored companies in Savannah alone, and when

the governor comes here to review the militia, they parade in line with the white troops. Only two of these companies are authorized by the militia law and have officers commissioned by the governor; the others are in a sense illegal, but nobody objects to them. Indeed, the city is rather proud of its sable soldiery. Contrast this state of feeling with that which prevailed in South Carolina before the change of administration there. The parade of a colored militia company brought on the terrible Hamburgh massacre. The South Carolina whites were furious at the sight of a black man in uniform with a musket on his shoulder. In 1871, when the Ku-Klux terrorized the up-country districts in that State, Negroes were murdered for no other crime than belonging to militia companies. Then an armed Negro had a most offensive political signification—he was upholding an odious, oppressive, and corrupt form of government. The same phenomena in Georgia creates no excitement whatever, nor will it henceforth in South Carolina. The whites here look upon a black volunteer company as good-naturedly as upon a picnic excursion party.

The complacency for the colored military implies that the whites intend that in any future sectional war (which we hope will never occur) the blacks shall be upon their side. And thus military drill implies conciliation, education, suffrage, every thing but political supremacy. And that we deem the best attainable arrrangement; for no sensible man believes that a people so unqualified should *rule* a superior race by sheer force of numbers.

This new order of things will, we trust, facilitate the mission in which Dr. Rust has so long and so faithfully labored of southern colored schools. His enterprise will be relieved of the political aspect which it has worn to jealous southern eyes. Our northern politicians have lent these schools neither aid nor counsel. Our leading republican papers manifest a remarkable ignorance in regard to their existence. Let the Negro question pass out of politics, and a large share of the southern jealousy on the subject, we hope, will disappear. For nine years our truly benevolent Freedmen's Aid Society has labored to furnish a competent education to the Southern Negroes. It has raised thirteen colleges and high schools. The purpose is to raise, educationally, teachers and preachers for five millions of colored people, and to elevate the character of the colored women of the South. In this good work we trust the time is at hand when southern Christians will have so far recovered from the impoverishment of the war as to furnish their hearty co-operation.

Miscellaneous.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Acts of the Apostles. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hannoren. Translated from the Fourth Edition of the German by Rev. PATON J. CLOAG, D.D. The Translation Revised and Edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Vol. I. 12mo., pp. 316. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877.

Of Meyer and the high value of his commentaries we have amply spoken. The translation will be a great accession to English Exegetics, and we rejoice that it is in progress.

The Expositor, May, 1877. Edited by the Rev. SAMUEL COX. (London.)—1. The Biblical Conception of Prayer. 2. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ. 3. The Gospel in the Epistles. 4. Rabbinic Exegesis. 5. The Christ of the Resurrection. 6. A Chapter of Gospel History.

Short Studies on Great Subjects. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Third Series. 16mo., pp. 400. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1877.

The Christian Way; Whither it Leads and How to go On. By WASHINGTON GLADDEN, author of "Being a Christian," etc. 16mo., pp. 142. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co.

Epochs of Ancient History. The Roman Triumvirates. By CHARLES MERIVALE, D.D., Dean of Ely. With a Map. 16mo., pp. 248. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

Half-Hour Studies of Life. By EDWIN A. JOHNSON, D.D. 16mo., pp. 343. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

Servants of Christ. By the author of "A Basket of Barley Loaves." 24mo., pp. 180. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A Wreath of Indian Stories. By A. L. O. E., Honorary Missionary at Amritsar. 24mo., pp. 313. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Hours with Men and Books. By WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL.D. 12mo., pp. 374. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1877.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Epochs of English History. The Struggle Against Absolute Monarchy, 1603–1688. By BERTHA MERITON CORDERY. With Three Maps. 32mo., pp. 142.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Tales from Shakspeare. Comedies. By CHARLES and MARY LAMB. 32mo., pp. 279.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Tales from Shakspeare. Tragedies. By CHARLES and MARY LAMB. 32mo., pp. 208.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. University Life; or, Ancient Athens. By W. W. CAPES, M.A., Reader in Ancient History in Oxford University. 32mo., pp. 171.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Epochs of English History. The Tudors and the Reformation, 1485–1603. By M. CREIGHTON, M.A. With three Maps. 32mo., pp. 148.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Epochs of English History. England a Continental Power from the Conquest to Magna Charta, 1066–1216. By LOUISE CREIGHTON. With a Map. 32mo., pp. 116.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. The Life, Times, and Character of Oliver Cromwell. By the Rt. Hon. E. H. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, M.P. 32mo., pp. 108.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. Epochs of English History. Rise of the People and Growth of Parliament, 1215–1485. By JAMES ROWLEY, M.A. 32mo., pp. 173.

A Text-Book of Harmony. For the Use of Schools and Students. By CHARLES EDWARD HORSLEY. 16mo., pp. 89. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Chedayne of Kotono. A Story of the Early Days of the Republic. By AUSBURN TOWNER. 16mo., pp. 606. New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co.

Heredity, Responsibility in Parentage. By Rev. S. H. PLATT, A.M. 16mo., pp. 14. New York: S. R. Wells & Co. 1877.

The Cooking Manual of Practical Directions for Economical Every-Day Cooking. By JULIET CARSON, Superintendent of the New York Cooking School. 24mo., pp. 144.

A Hero in the Battle of Life, and other Brief Memorials. By the author of "Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars," etc. 24mo., pp. 168. New York.

Nora's Love Test. A Novel. By MARY CECIL HAY. 8vo., pp. 156. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Juliet's Guardian. A Novel. By Mrs. H. LOVETT CAMERON. With Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 130. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Mar's White Witch. A Novel. By G. DOUGLAS. 8vo., pp. 169. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

A Woman Hater. A Novel. By CHARLES READE. 8vo., pp. 178. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1877.

ART. I.—THE ATONEMENT,

IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE MORAL UNIVERSE.

THE Atonement is the central transaction of eternity.

The Infinite Mind, let us suppose, is primarily engaged with the problem of CREATION; not the creation of mere matter, nor yet of irresponsible being—that involved no difficulty—but of moral, spiritual, accountable beings, capable of knowing, loving, and enjoying himself. The Creator would not dwell alone. Infinite Love would bestow being and happiness. God could fill space with matter wrought into all forms of beauty, or combine with matter countless myriads of the lower orders of life, destitute of reason and moral perception. But what delight could he take in such creatures? They could not know or love him; he could not have fellowship or communion with them. He would have beings made like unto himself in spirit, in essence, in moral qualities, with understanding, affections, will; beings to whom he could make himself known, and who, as he revealed himself in the attributes of the divine and loving All-Father, could apprehend, love, and adore him, and thus find the happiness he designed them to enjoy.

But this happiness of the creature would depend upon continued harmony with God's nature and will. Further, this harmony would depend upon the free choice of the creature, otherwise it would be worthless. Constraint would destroy.

Services rendered to *us*, in order to be valued, must be freely given. Can we for a moment suppose that God would not spurn any other than a perfectly free and willing service? To be thus it must be the choice of a free, a positively free, agent. Now, the very essence of freedom is the power of choice, the power to accept or reject, to choose a thing, or its opposite.

But God knew that this essential freedom of choice involved the risk of apostasy; knew that possibility of defection was indissolubly joined with moral freedom. He has so constituted us, mentally, that the opposite of this statement is, to us, a contradiction. Here, then, is the supreme difficulty of the whole problem of the intellectual and moral creation. So far as we can see, the question was reduced to this: either creation, with possible sin and consequent suffering, or *non-creation.*

God knew that some would exercise the power of choice to *choose evil;* knew this when and before he breathed spiritual and moral life into the first rational, responsible being. In his infinite wisdom and infinite love, and in the face of the known fact that some would sin and suffer, he determined to create. But all whom he created he made morally pure, and freely bestowed upon them all needful power; made them abundantly "sufficient to stand, though free to fall." We say that God *knew* that sin would enter his dominion and mar his work. May we not, also, assert that, foreseeing the evil, he provided for its correction; provided for it and settled all things according to the counsels of his will, before a single spark of intelligent life flashed into being; that, before the eldest-born of "the morning stars and the sons of God" awoke to conscious blessedness, the All good and All wise God had seen the end from the beginning, and, looking upon his work as already finished, "saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good?"

Let us, with profound reverence, for we are treading on holy ground, inquire what he saw; or, rather, let us, from the standpoint we have chosen and with the light we have, look down the vista of the eternity to come, and note what we shall see. Withdrawing our eyes from the magnificence and beauty of the material universe, we fix them upon the universe of created spirit, and scan the processes and the products of the moral

government of God. In the beginning there arise, rank upon rank, ten thousand times ten thousand pure spiritual beings, radiant with the beauty of God, glowing with the holy fervor of love and worship, endowed with powers of perception and comprehension, of wisdom and knowledge, capable of eternal expansion, and stamped with the seal of immortality. We behold these beings assigned to their respective spheres and charged with their several responsibilities; placed under law and required to measure up to its perfect standard; placed, as Adam was, and as we are, *on probation.* We look, and as cycle upon cycle of the eternal ages multiplies, we find them joyfully and perfectly fulfilling all duty through the allotted period of their probation, and as they accomplish that period and approve themselves worthy of reward, we find them entering into that unchangeable state of holiness and happiness which is to be the portion of all who fulfill its conditions.

Will it not be admitted just here that, reasoning from analogy, *all* the subjects of God's moral government must needs stand the test of probation ere they are crowned with final reward? I cannot conceive that the Just and Holy One will use partiality in this respect. Man, we know, is put to the test under the covenant of grace. Why should the angels be relieved from an equal trial by the covenant of works? Could God make one order of beings and seal them at once forever holy and happy, beyond the moral possibility of defection, while he subjected another, having equal claims, as his creatures, to such a state of trial as involved the possibility of failure and final ruin? "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

We continue to observe the progress of creation and the developments of the divine government. As the centuries of eternity pass we come to the period when that portion of the celestial hosts known to us as Satan and his fellow-spirits, the now fallen angels, enter upon the stage of being. Wonderfully endowed and clothed with glory and majesty, this Prince of Powers was assigned a province worthy of his capacities. He ruled with regal dignity myriads of lesser spirits, who, through his extended domain, rendered to him that deference and obedience which befitted the high honor conferred upon him by his Lord and theirs. Invested with this illustrious viceroyalty

he, doubtless, for a season maintained his fealty to his Sovereign, and administered, with all fidelity and acceptableness, the government committed to his charge, conscious of his own personal responsibility as a servant of the Most High.

Surely we may imagine that Satan* was in possession of all that he should desire to satisfy his highest aspirations for honor and blessedness. All the powers of his being were harmoniously employed in work which at once expanded those powers and filled them with the purest delight. His fellow-subjects gladly obeyed his behests and delighted to do him honor. He lived in the full sunlight of the approving smile of his Maker. He rejoiced in conscious purity and integrity, and in the assurance that when his present mission was accomplished he would be exalted to a still higher state, and, sealed forever holy and happy, would spend that "forever" in the ever-increasing enjoyment of all the perfection of being and blessedness that the Infinite One could bestow. But the time came when he began to entertain thoughts of evil, ideas, suggestions, which had from the beginning crossed the field of his mind. They had hovered about his pathway, but hitherto his clear intellect and untainted spirit had comprehended their character and absolutely repelled their influence. Though conscious of their presence, he was equally conscious of utter abhorrence of them. He knew more clearly than we can know the difference between the intellectual perception of the suggestion of evil and the willing entertainment of that suggestion. The line of demarcation between solicitation and consent, between temptation and sin, was distinctly drawn, sharply defined. While *within* that line, he knew that he was perfectly safe; overstepping it, he knew, involved rebellion against the Holy One, and possible danger and loss to himself. What that danger and loss might be he was uncertain. He had never made the trial. He had never known or heard of any who had. In the history of the universe there was no instance of rebellion, and no illustration of the consequences that would follow it. Should he make the attempt he must dare the unknown. He knew good, but not evil.

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* We know no better title by which to designate him. Satan means *adversary*, and has, doubtless, been applied to him only since his fall. What name he bore previous to that event has not been revealed.

The high mission and mighty prerogatives with which, I think, Scripture authorizes us to believe Satan was clothed, suggested a higher exaltation and a wider reach of empire. Possession of power, exercise of dominion, the right to command and be obeyed, is, perhaps, the most fascinating of all the gifts that can be intrusted to an intelligent being. The thought that his mighty power could be increased, that, with the means at his command, he could multiply his dominions, and that, with still increasing resources, he might at length rule as an independent sovereign and release himself from even the homage due to Deity, presented itself as a glittering prize. Indulging in these imaginings impaired his spiritual vision, and the perception of his inherent impotence was, for the time, obscured.

Some may ask, How could such rebellious thoughts be entertained by a being in heaven? I beg you to remember that, according to our theory, Satan never was in heaven, that is, the heaven of *final reward.* Many suppose that Satan was a resident of that holy place before he fell. I think, however, that we are more indebted to Milton than to the Bible for that impression. True, it is written, "There was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon . . . and his angels;" and that their place was found no more in heaven. But I believe it is conceded that this, like many other passages in the Apocalypse, is highly figurative. That it cannot mean the heaven of God's peculiar residence is evident, for no evil can enter there, and war is an evil. It must, then, refer to exalted positions in governments, to the princes and potentates of earth, or to the mighty powers of the air, who, lifted high above the masses, reigned and ruled in imitation of the heavenly powers.

If Satan and his compeers fell from that complete and final state of reward to which the hopes of righteous men look with such joyful satisfaction, under the assurance that they will never fall, would not that fact suggest painful doubts as to its eternal stability? But to my mind the positive promise of the Lord Jesus that his servants shall be made pillars in the temple to "go no more out," that the righteous shall inherit "life eternal," is conclusive and satisfying. And, in addition to these promises, we may present two philosophical reasons

against any suggestions of change. First, having stood a full and sufficient test successfully, and entered into reward, every thing that has affinity for evil being separated from their moral nature, the principle of holy obedience is constantly confirmed; and, second, they are always in the fully manifested presence of God, and filled with that divine light which admits no doubt or obscurity as to moral relations and obligations. I hold that Satan had not arrived at this state; that he had not lived out his probation. He was possessed of a nature which *might* coalesce with evil; else the very name of trial, or probation, is an absurdity. Again, he was not surrounded and permeated with that light which emanates from the open face of the present seen and felt Godhead. Assigned to a distant sphere, with all needful knowledge and pure principles, he and his fellows were, we may well suppose, left, as the human race is, to act on their own responsibility without the overpowering display of the presence of the Judge Eternal. Such a display is, we presume, unknown in any world, or among any order of beings, while probation lasts. Thus circumstanced, then, without necessity, without compulsion, in the full and perfect possession of all the attributes of a mighty intellect that could comprehend and decide his relations, his duty, and his interest, with a moral nature created pure and spotless, with a will abundantly capable of repelling the wrong and determining for the right, this prince among princes, moved by pride and the lust of power, SINNED AND FELL.

At this point we may pause a moment to consider that dark problem which has so perplexed the moral world—the origin of evil. The subject is often alluded to as dark, mysterious, unfathomable; some bold blasphemers charging that, as God is the author of all things, he must be the author of sin; others, who fear and love God, shuddering at the fearful wickedness of such a thought, yet tremblingly confessing that they cannot cope with it; and others still, unable to reconcile it with their views of justice and beneficence, making it an excuse for rejecting the whole scheme of salvation. It seems to me, in my simplicity, that there is no *authorship* about it. No one created sin. No one brought sin, as sin, into being. Sin is not a substance, a thing, to be made or begotten. It is not an attribute, or power, or faculty. It is not a constituent

element of either matter or mind. It is not an entity in any sense of the word. Like righteousness, or purity, it is simply an act, a state, or condition. An apostle defines sin to be "the transgression of the law." What law? I answer—the primal law which was before all created existence—the will of God! Moral evil, or sin, began to be *possible* the first hour that a free accountable being began to exist. It began to *be* when the first accountable being departed from God's law, by ceasing to obey, or beginning to disobey. Such a thing might have taken place immediately after the creation of the first moral agent, or at any moment from that time until Satan fell. Had it never occurred until this time, it might take place now, or hereafter. But let us return to our stand-point and watch the developments of this wonderful drama.

Rebellion has lifted its head; the overt act has been committed; SIN has appeared. We are justified in the supposition that vast numbers of the angelic hosts had been enticed from their loyalty to heaven's King, and had united with their chief in the bold conspiracy to throw off the yoke of the Most High. Through all the gradations of power and position among those who had owned him as their viceregal lord, Satan had persuaded multitudes to enter into his traitorous league. And now we may imagine that, swifter than the electric spark, the astounding intelligence had spread to the very confines of the universe, and horror and dismay thrilled the ranks of the still loyal sons of God: horror at the accursed crime, and dismay at the thought of the possible consequences to themselves. But suspense was soon ended. Quick as thought there appeared in the fathomless depths beneath them a new department of the material universe. Wide, and deep, and dark, and fiery, rolled the burning billows of an ocean of divine wrath, and, while they looked, the rebellious hosts with their seditious leader, crushed by unseen but irresistible power, fell in headlong ruin down, down through the immeasurable abyss, until their glory and their beauty were quenched in the seething waves of the hell of eternal fire.

And now the pause that followed reminds one of the apocalyptic phrase, "There was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour." The sudden outburst of the revolt, and the equally sudden and condign retribution visited upon its partic-

ipants by the awful display of omnipotent wrath, until then unknown, had palsied the tongue and stilled the heart of even the consciously pure and faithful. But soon the smile of loving approval which beamed from the face of the King eternal upon his loyal subjects dispelled the shadow from every brow, and the calm of assured peace and holy joy again pervaded the purified atmosphere. Sadness at the loss and ruin of their late companions, perhaps, modulated for a season the tone of exultant joy that had always marked their experience, but the conviction of the justice of the punishment, and the absolute necessity of maintaining inviolate the divine government, soon restored their wonted bliss. But the amazing development of evil in the creature had given occasion for the revelation of a new phase of the divine character—that of *wrath*—wrath against sin, visiting swift and fearful retribution. Never before had aught but goodness and love marked the administration of God, nor any thing contrary to love, joy, and assurance, their own blessed experience. Now, however, deep, solemn thoughts of law and penalty, as applicable to themselves, and of the possible re-enactment of the terrible drama in the future, inspired a measure of awe never before felt. What was to be done! A shadow had crossed the wide domain of being and left its trace upon every spirit. How was that trace to be obliterated, and the possibility of its recurrence forever banished? We watch, now, with intense interest the development of the plan of infinite wisdom and goodness. We intimated in the beginning that all things pertaining to the completed and perfected moral government of God, all those events which were to result in the final establishment of the reign of peace, righteousness, and security, had been considered and provided for ere the first accountable being was created. The period had now arrived when the grand climax was to be reached, the climax that involved the revelation of attributes of the Deity hitherto unknown, unthought of, and the display of the richest beneficence that could be bestowed upon finite beings. Up to this time infinite power, wisdom, holiness, goodness, and truth had excited the wonder, love, and adoration of the angelic hosts, and the recent manifestation of unmitigated justice had produced profoundest awe. The great want of universal being seemed now to be some revelation of God that would set at rest

forever all questioning as to the future stability of blessedness, and guarantee that evil should be so restrained as to relieve from all apprehension of its continued spread.

It may be questioned whether there is such a thing as absolute freedom from liability to defection in the case of any being but God himself. Freedom of will seems to our mind essential and inherent in the very nature of an intelligent moral being. We cannot conceive how it can ever become possible that such a being should be, by nature, or *per se*, incapable of sinning. In finite beings freedom to do right involves freedom to do wrong always and every-where. But is there not such a thing as a *moral impossibility* which will, in effect and forever, preclude the danger of falling away. We admit moral impossibility even in this life. One illustration will suffice. Look at that young Christian mother, of pure moral character and refined sensibilities, bending with passionate tenderness over her first-born, and say if it be not morally impossible that she should, in the full possession of her mental faculties, take a razor, and, carefully testing the keenness of its edge, deliberately lift her darling from its cradle, lay it on her lap, cut its throat, and cast it from her, as an abhorred thing! Yet we know she has the physical power, and might do it *if she would.* Thus a natural possibility and a moral impossibility may, without contradiction, be affirmed of the volitions and actions of the same being.

If this be so; if, in particular relations, or in the case of life-long practice of goodness and virtue, man may become so confirmed in the principles of truth and justice that we scout the very thought of deliberate iniquity, how much more may we conclude that the pure spirits who shall have, through a sufficient probation, maintained their integrity and entered upon their reward in the very presence of God, with all about them and all within them mightily tending to strengthen all goodness, shall be, though not naturally, nor absolutely, yet in fact and in effect, incapable of transgression? But to render this stability yet more stable, the great scheme of the Atonement was about to be brought into requisition, the secret counsels of past eternity were to be disclosed.

See, Earth, fair and beautiful, takes its place among the heavenly bodies. Arranged and adorned differently from all the rest,

because designed for the home of a new order of beings, it excited the wonder and admiration of the celestial hosts. "The morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy," as this "thing of beauty" broke upon their vision. Insignificant in size compared with many of the vast orbs that traversed space, it was large enough for the working out of the plan proposed. The race that was to inhabit it was to be brought into being, not all at once, but by successive generations, which should come and go, like the waves of the sea, so that its inhabitants could be indefinitely multiplied. As the arena of the amphitheater afforded sufficient space for the sanguinary struggles witnessed by tens of thousands, so our small planet was large enough for an arena on which the Son of God might meet and conquer Satan and sin, death and hell, and, amid the halleluias of the thronging myriads of heaven, bear off the glorious prize of the world redeemed, the divine law honored, and his Father glorified. Moreover, Earth was large enough; that is, it was enough of God's fair creation to be subjected to the curse which sin would bring upon it.

But what was this new order of beings which was to be introduced? Inspiration informs us of the creation of only two classes of intellectual beings—angelic and human. None but the angelic had, thus far, appeared upon the theater of life. They were spiritual beings, and created, so far as we know, each in his own separate individuality and completeness of mental and moral powers. Man, the new being, was to be twofold in his nature, spirit, and matter—a rational soul and a material body united. He was to be introduced into life, not by separate and direct creation in each case, but by procreation, by successive descent from parent to child. Through this new branch of the great family of God, created for the purpose, was to be developed the grand design of binding, ultimately, all unfallen beings forever to loyalty, to happiness, and to God. In connection with it was to be enacted the amazing drama of the death of the Son of God; that death which should secure life eternal, beyond the peradventure of defection, to those who should stand the test of probation.

Some such manifestation of God was needed as should go beyond the mere production of awe and fear at the thought of sin. It was needful that the creatures of God should feel

through all their being, not only that sin would insure their ruin; not only that it was hateful to God, but that God's hatred of sin sprang from the infinite depth of his love for them. Infinite Love would show his offspring that he could not be Infinite Love and permit sin in them. He would so manifest himself that they should be fully convinced that not mere justice, not arbitrary power alone, not any vengeful feeling, called forth his wrath and punishment upon the guilty, but that the purest, deepest, tenderest concern for them necessitated the infliction of the penalty due to transgression. To accomplish this the great Atonement by Christ was to be made; and in order to effect this mighty work a new race was to be created, that, uniting his Son with it, God might thereby manifest his great love. The provision was made by the creation of mankind. Thus MAN WAS MADE FOR THE ATONEMENT, as well as, according to received belief, the Atonement was made for man. We are persuaded that the two were indissolubly connected in the counsels of God ere any created being existed. The Atonement was an essential feature of the divine economy as a whole; and, so far as we can discern, the creation of the Adamic race was necessary to the development of that feature. One would not have been without the other.

This great transaction was to affect the destiny of angels as well as of men. Not in the same way, it is true, not to redeem and restore the fallen, but to secure the unfallen in holiness and happiness. It may be asked, Why not assume the nature of angels, and recover those of them who had sinned? We cannot answer this question. We know that it is written, "He took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham." We know not that there was any reason connected with the nature of angels why the Lord Jesus Christ should not assume that nature; but we can suppose that the circumstances attaching to the defection of those spiritual beings were such as to make it unsuitable, inconsistent with the principles of just government, for him to undertake their redemption. The high turpitude of their crime, their bold, deliberate choice of rebellion in the very noon-tide flood of moral and spiritual light, left them without excuse or palliation of their offense. Each had, while in full maturity of intellect and clear knowledge of duty, chosen for himself the

path of evil, and realized, in and for himself, the penalty due. But that those who had held to their allegiance might be sealed forever, that the myriad myriads who, in the oncoming ages, should be created in purity, might be kept pure; that the ninety and nine of the innumerable millions of both men and angels who, in the future, should people the universe, might not fall into sin and suffering, a new ordering of the divine government, with a new class of subjects, became necessary.

And God said, "Let us make *man* in our image, after our likeness." What these expressions signify in relation to man, which differentiated him from the angels, we know not. As we have no history of the creation of angels, so we have few particular passages which throw any light upon their peculiar relations to their Maker. We know that they were made pure, spiritual intelligences, capable of knowing, loving, and serving God. Yet in the absence of information at this point as to angels, and in the presence of the express statement in regard to man, we think it not irrational to suppose that the terms "in our image," "after our likeness," were intended to convey the idea that God imparted some features of his moral character to Adam which he did not confer upon angels. Several passages of Holy Writ represent the Supreme Being as possessing feelings and sentiments which we know to be inherent in ourselves, as anger and pity, hatred and love, sorrow and joy. These terms may be, probably are, used only in accommodation to our circumstances and limited comprehension; but the expressions are there, and, taken in connection with the quotation from Genesis i, seem to justify the inference that Adam was made more like his Creator than were the angels.

If the words we have quoted were publicly announced, and our supposition of their import be just, we may imagine the eagerness of the heavenly orders to behold what kind of being would come forth from the creating hand. Many ten thousands of them doubtless gathered at the scene and awaited with deepest interest the moment that should introduce a new member into the great family. As, in company with them, we gaze with fixed attention, suddenly we see, standing erect before us, a creature with a material, earthy body of surpassing beauty of form and majesty of mien, and instinct with animal, intellectual, and spiritual life. Waking to conscious

being, with a countenance radiant with the beams of the purity and love that dwell within, Adam stands forth the perfected expression of the thought of his Maker. His first feeling, perhaps, is one of profound surprise ; his next that of adoring love toward Him who had thus suddenly called him into life and happiness. And as he poured forth these feelings in glad accents of praise and worship, well might the pure spirits that thronged around join him in this first employment of his powers; with him rendering unto their common Lord the glory, honor, and praise due unto his name. For a while this head and representative of a new race, in company with his lovely consort, trod the path of duty in the possession of all the elements of unalloyed blessedness, rejoicing in the smile of his Maker. But, alas! how soon is the exuberant joy of the angels checked. Satan, their former comrade, but now malignant foe, has found access to the newly made, and, by his subtle art, separated him from God, defiled his moral nature, and involved him in the same ruin with himself. Could angels weep we may well suppose that many a tear of sorrow and sadness welled up from their bosoms. Nor was their sorrow unmingled with awe and dread.

Intense interest and anxiety (we speak after the manner of men) as to the next scene in this wonderful panorama filled their minds. The celestial circles were occupied with deep thought and high converse as to the result of this new defection ; how it would affect man and angel and demon ; what process Infinite Wisdom would devise to counterwork Satan, punish his crime, and restrain his malignity; what new creative energy would be put forth to produce a being who should be proof against temptation. The thought of the *recovery* of a fallen spirit had never entered their minds. No evidence of a plan or purpose having such an end in view had hitherto been manifested. The dreadful conviction that Adam and Eve would be condemned to share the punishment of the rebellious hosts settled as a cloud upon their spirits. Fully approving their sentence, they yet could but mourn the loss of those who bade fair to replenish their decimated numbers and add to the bliss of celestial companionship.

But the universal Father had a far different purpose. The fall of Adam and the corruption of his race, seen and known beforehand, had been so provided for in the eternal counsels

that, in spite of the apparent contradiction, this very ruin should bring greater glory to God and richer stores of blessing to the universe. When, in pronouncing the curse upon the serpent, it was said of the seed of the woman "it shall bruise thy head," the mysterious sentence at once attracted the thought of the celestial orders. They saw with wonder that the human pair were not instantly overwhelmed by the divine justice, as had been the case with rebel angels. They began to comprehend that new principles, based upon new relations, were about to be introduced into the system of moral government.

We follow our federal head as he and his partner in sin go forth, in sorrow and suffering, from the delights of Eden, shut out from the tree of life lest they eat and live forever in their guilt. Soon we find that two sons are born unto them, inheriting their corrupt nature and involved in its condemnation. But the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world was vouchsafed to them, teaching them that their case was not hopeless. The elder disregarded that teaching, but the younger availed himself of its benefits. Giving full scope to the evil that was in him, Cain murdered his brother. Yet he lived on. The mark of the displeasure of his Maker was on him, but he was granted space for repentance. Abel had made use of the grace shadowed forth in the mysterious promise, and, by penitence, faith, and obedience, had secured the divine favor, been cleansed from guilt and prepared for the enjoyment of God and heaven. While the warm current of life flowed from his mortal body, his purified spirit entered into the possession of the reward of the righteous. What a thrill passed through the ranks of heaven as they beheld this first-fruit of saving grace received into the eternal mansions! How these sons of God gathered about the newly-arrived, and, with eager questionings, endeavored to learn from him something that would throw light upon the great problem which his appearance among them had started: how a being whose nature was morally corrupt could be purified from that corruption and made fit for heaven! They had witnessed many transformations of matter, many instances of mighty energy put forth in the material kingdom, but never yet the cleansing of a polluted spirit, the recovery of a fallen being. An entirely new thing had come to pass. A new being with

a new designation, was presented to their contemplation. Holy angels and fallen angels they were familiar with, but here was a *saint* evolved from a *sinner!* How he could be pardoned, how he could be renewed unto holiness, what had become of the stern justice of the Almighty, what new attribute of the Deity, what new phase of his moral government, had produced such a result? These were themes of wondering thought. And no marvel, for what greater miracle can there be in all the universe than the changing of a sinner into a saint! We know, through Revelation, that Abel was the first-fruit of the gospel scheme, of that attribute of *mercy* which until then had remained undiscovered in the Divine character, and which was never clearly made known until the fullness of time.

We pass to the next event that excited the curiosity of heaven. Centuries, as we count time, had passed, and many of the children of Adam had entered heaven, as Abel did, through the gate of death. But now one of the same race presents himself there under different circumstances. Enoch, who in spirit walked with God on earth, has come, in the body, to walk the streets of the heavenly city. He presented in himself a type and an earnest of the raised and glorified body of the future, and an example of a perfected humanity in the union of a spotless soul with an immortal body. Hitherto the human frame, the mortal part of man, had moldered to a loathsome dissolution under the decree, "dust to dust." But Enoch's presence shadowed forth the resurrection, and first revealed to angel minds the conception of the high honor that God designed to confer upon man's material part. Thus the complex nature and future destiny of the new race, their own relation to and connection with these things, and their bearing upon universal being, were subjects of continued interest.

We may presume that this interest on the part of his creatures was not displeasing to the Creator; for, as time rolled on, he gradually revealed to their apprehension, through the offering of slain beasts and through the language of prophecy, the grand idea of sacrifice for sin, of atonement for transgression by the death of another. As Abel and Noah, and Abraham and Job, laid their hands on the head of the victim with contrition of spirit, confession of sin, and faith in God, and then arose from their prostration with the light of peace and recon-

ciliation resting upon them, how often and how eagerly was the question asked, What meaneth this? When Abraham laid his son on the altar and virtually offered him up, though not in any sense as a sacrifice for sin, did not some dim idea of the great sacrifice, of which Isaac was so conspicuous a type, enter the minds of the heavenly hosts? Following Abraham, prophet and seer succeeded each other, adding ray to ray, like as, one after another, the stars come out on a clear night, until the celestial hemisphere is studded with the shining gems. Conspicuous among these Isaiah shone with uncommon luster. His clear and pointed predictions as to the circumstances connected with the person and life of the Messiah, and as to the nature of his kingdom, have caused him to be ranked next to the evangelists. What a bold announcement is that in the ninth chapter: "Unto us a *child is born*, unto us a *son is given:* and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace!" I doubt not that his fifty-third chapter was the subject of deep thought among the angels of God. What questionings passed among them as to the man of sorrows, wounded and bruised, oppressed and afflicted, who should be brought as a lamb to the slaughter; whose soul should be made an offering for sin; and yet who, justifying many by bearing their iniquities, should ultimately see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied! With what interest did they regard the little village of Bethlehem after Micah's proclamation, that from thence should come forth He that was to be ruler in Israel; "whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." How eagerly they ran through all the previous prophecies and computed the times and the seasons, when the last of the prophets announced the near approach of some mighty event! "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple." But four hundred years of looking and longing had yet to pass before the fullness of time came.

At length there went forth the commission of Gabriel to the Virgin. The Son of God was born of a woman; the Word was made flesh to dwell among us. Heaven stood bewildered at the thought of Deity incarnate, and hell quaked with fearful forebodings as to this new development of the plans of the

Almighty. For we may not suppose that the infernal powers had been for all these ages other than deeply interested spectators of the events passing upon this earth, the central stage of the theater of the moral government of the universe. Now was opened to angelic vision the secret of Old Testament type and promise and prophecy. The Infinite One clothes himself with humanity; "the mighty God, the everlasting Father," appears among men as the "Child born," the "Son given," in the Infant of Bethlehem; and the plains of Judea echo the exultant gratulation, "Behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy," answered by the triumphal chorus, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men!"

Jesus, the Saviour from sin, the Restorer of the fallen, the Redeemer of the lost, begins that life of toil and self-denial, the sorrows and sufferings of which shall culminate at Gethsemane and Calvary. Human and angelic intellects are alike impotent before the attempt to comprehend such condescension, such humiliation. The thought never entered the mind of an archangel, eldest of the sons of heaven, that the Creator could stoop to fellowship even such as he; but to pass by him and all the lessening ranks of holy beings, and unite himself with man, that the Word should become flesh and dwell with the depraved race of Adam, exceeded all limit of thought. Could envy enter heaven it had filled all hearts that such inconceivable honor should be denied them and conferred upon sinful man. But heaven knew not envy. And now, for three and thirty years, the eye, the thought of every pure spirit turned earthward. As when, of a clear night, we lift our eyes and take in the circle of the starry heavens, they seem an innumerable host looking toward our planet as to a center; as the countless bodies that sweep through space are held by centripetal power to the mighty world that constitutes the center and metropolis of the universe, so from every point of the celestial sphere did these holy beings bend an untiring gaze upon the Son of God clothed in flesh. As he trod the path from Bethlehem to Calvary, every step of that path, from the first efforts of the infant Jesus, as he clung to his mother's knee, to the hour when his feet marked their prints with blood as he toiled up the mount of crucifixion, was measured and meditated by angelic minds.

During all his life of privacy and obscurity they watched, and wondered, and waited, until, in his thirtieth year, his forerunner pointed him out, and the voice of the Father and the visible descent of the Holy Ghost proclaimed him on the banks of the Jordan the Son of God, the promised Messiah. When he went forth to publish his Gospel and establish his kingdom, to reveal clearly the great doctrines of salvation, to offer pardon and eternal life to all who would believe on him, they strained every power to comprehend his words and fathom his purposes. As he taught in the city, in the wilderness, by the seashore; as he fed the hungry multitudes, cleansed the lepers, cast out devils, gave health to the diseased, sight to the blind, and life to the dead, men, whom he came to save, rejected and persecuted him. One here, and another there, received him in his true character. Some marveled whether he were Elias, or one of the old prophets, or John the Baptist risen from the dead; some mocked; some blasphemously accused him of collusion with Satan; but the angels knew their Lord, and reverently adored him.

It may be asked why it was necessary that the Deity should partake of humanity, should submit to such humiliation; why God could not make known by direct, divine energy, or by the ministry of angels, his pity for fallen man, and his benign purpose to save all who would return and submit themselves to him? We suggest that the nature of the case and of the work to be done absolutely required such condescension, such a union of the divine with the human nature. Man was to be taught God's designs in his behalf, instructed as to the plan of restoring grace, persuaded, convinced beyond reasonable doubt of the sympathy and love of his Maker, and of his willingness and readiness to pardon and save. Without this conviction the guilty, perverse, unbelieving soul of man would reject all proffers of reconciliation; and his pride on the one hand, and despair on the other, would impel him still onward in a course of rebellion and ruin. It was, therefore, necessary that the Word become flesh and dwell among us, partake of our nature, enter, as a man, into our thoughts and feelings, our joys and sorrows, our hopes and fears. If man is to be reached and saved he must have, not a high-priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of his infirmities, but, one

who was in all points tempted like himself. Any other mode of communication with our race, it seems to us, must have failed of its purpose. How could we possibly exercise love and filial trust, how surrender ourselves and our interests, without hesitation or reserve, to a Being so infinitely removed from us in character and station as the High and Holy One that inhabiteth eternity? Neither could we be brought into harmony with our Maker through the interposition of angels. Of a different nature and order, we should ever feel that they could not possibly enter into sympathy with us. None but a being felt to be in full fellowship with our humanity could find access to our hearts, and none but a being known at the same time to be able to save to the uttermost could command our trust. Such a Being is our Lord Jesus Christ.

We cannot, perhaps, better set forth our view of the necessity for this union with human nature, on the part of the Redeemer, than by an illustration. Most of us are familiar with the insects called ants. Some species of them live together in vast numbers, forming communities which seem to be governed by chiefs, or kings, in accordance with regular laws. Suppose some kind-hearted philosopher, in his researches, should find a colony of these insects which, instead of presenting the usual evidences of order, harmony, and peace in their social relations, were manifestly in a state of anarchy and suffering. He forms the purpose to remove, if possible, the evils that afflict them. His first effort would be to open communication with them. Suppose he succeeds in this, and offers his counsel and assistance. What would they reply? "It is useless! You are a *man*, we are *ants*. You know not the feelings and wants of ant nature. We have nothing in common. We could not understand or sympathize with each other!" And they would be right. There could be no hope of good for them unless the philosopher should be able to make himself one of them, unite his nature with theirs, and become, in fact, a *man-ant*. Then his superior wisdom and power might be made available. Then they could comprehend his counsel, love his person, and trustingly follow the course he should prescribe to lead them out of their forlorn condition. But to return to our blessed Lord. We approach the culminating act. Steadily pursuing the path he had marked out for himself, that path the end of

which, ever present to his meek and suffering spirit, presented in full view the garden and the cross, he paused, and, as though realizing in all its length and breadth the supreme importance of the closing scenes of the terrible drama, he exclaimed, "Father, the hour is come!"

We confess ourselves both incompetent and indisposed to attempt to portray the scenes and circumstances attending the final conflict and the perfect victory of the Redeemer of men over the malice and rage of his foes. We will not dwell upon the mental anguish in the garden, that forced from his body the bloody sweat and from his lips the cry of distress, "If it be possible let this cup pass from me;" upon his submitting to be arrested as a felon, the ignominy of the mock trial, the buffeting, the scourging, the mortal agony and desertion on the cross, the burial, the resurrection, the ascension from Olivet. Let us rather, in the privacy of the closet, and in the secret chambers of the soul, meditate upon these things; and, as our hearts melt under a deep sense of his sufferings for us, and expand with the apprehension of the mighty benefits he secured for us when he triumphed over Death, and ascended the mediatorial throne, break forth into the exultant song:—

"Yes, the Redeemer rose; The Saviour left the dead!
And o'er our hellish foes High raised his conqu'ring head.
In wild dismay, The guards around,
Fall to the ground And sink away.

"Ye mortals, catch the sound, Redeem'd by Him from hell:
And send the echo round The globe on which you dwell;
Transported cry, 'Jesus who bled,
Hath left the dead, No more to die!'

"All hail, triumphant Lord, Who sav'st us with thy blood!
Wide be thy Name adored, Thou rising, reigning God;
With thee we rise, With thee we reign,
And empires gain, Beyond the skies."

The mighty work is accomplished, the great transaction is done: for *man* the sin-offering made and accepted, for *unfallen spirits* the great conserving act completed.

It may be asked, Why so sure of this? How can the immolation of *one* victim, the suffering and death of *one* being, be accounted as a full propitiation and satisfaction whereby and wherefor all the individuals of an innumerable race may be released from the penalty due to their transgressions? We

answer, That depends upon the dignity and glory of the One as contrasted with the vileness and worthlessness of the many. In this case the Lord of life and glory was, himself, the sacrifice. Between him and the best and most exalted of his creatures there can be no comparison, much less between him and the depraved and guilty progeny of Adam. We can institute, we say, no comparison, but we may, by illustration, gain some faint view of the difference of worth in the two cases. We will again refer to the philosopher and the ants. Let us suppose that, in order to restore peace and prosperity to the colony mentioned, it should be necessary that the wise and benevolent man who sought their good should lay down his life. Contrast the character and capacities of the two. On the one hand we find an immortal being, of the highest physical organization, endowed with a rational mind and spiritual powers capable of indefinite expansion, and fitted for a career of wide-spread usefulness to immortal beings like himself: on the other hand, insignificant insects, alive for a few days with a little breath, and whose use, or purpose, even, in the economy of nature we can hardly discern. How many lives of such animated motes would equal in value the life of one such man It seems to me that if the whole earth were one vast plain, and that plain covered ten fathoms deep with such worthless creatures, the life of one wise and good man were, beyond comparison, worth more than the whole of them, multiplied ten thousand-fold. What, then, shall we say, or think, of Him who, in the language of one learned in divine things, is "the eternal, independent, and self-existent One—absolute in dominion, the most pure and spiritual of all essences, infinitely happy and eternally self-sufficient—illimitable in his immensity, inconceivable in his mode of existence, *indescribable* in his essence, and known only to himself."

"O thou Eternal One! whose presence bright
  All space doth occupy, all motion guide:
Unchanged through Time's all-devastating flight:
  Thou only God! there is no God beside!
Being above all beings! Mighty One!
  Whom none can comprehend, and none explore;
Who fill'st existence with thyself alone;
  Embracing all—supporting—ruling o'er!
  Being whom we call God—and know no more!

> In its sublime research, philosophy
> May measure out the ocean deep—may count
> The sands or the sun's rays ; but God ! for thee
> There is no weight nor measure ; none can mount
> Up to thy mysteries ; Reason's brightest spark,
> Though kindled by thy light, in vain would try
> To trace thy counsels, infinite and dark ;
> And thought is lost, ere thought can soar so high."

We stand abashed at the mere idea of comparison ; we shrink from the bare use of the term. Reason would reject the thought that this Being should suffer and die for man. We receive it only on the authority of God himself, and with profoundest self-abasement we look up from sin and dust, and wonder and adore and *believe.*

Let us now turn our thoughts to the results of this great scheme of redemption. There are some, we suppose, who, looking only at the apparent fruits presented by the history of Christianity in the last two thousand years, would be ready to pronounce it a failure. Millions of our race have not yet even heard of Christ. Millions who have heard have failed to believe on him. Millions of those who have believed have given small evidence of his power to sanctify and save. Sin and corruption, like a mighty tide, still dash their waves against the barriers of salvation, and sometimes seem as if they would overwhelm the truth of God and all who cling to it. And yet we know that the grace which bringeth salvation has rescued from destruction a very large proportion of the posterity of Adam. The fact that all who die in infancy are saved secures at one stroke the salvation of more than half the race. I think we may safely assume that multitudes who knew not, in this life, that there was a Saviour, meet, on entering the eternal state, the joyful surprise of salvation wrought out for them by Him to whom it was promised that the heathen should be given to him for an inheritance. They who live and die without law shall be judged without law. Add to these all who, under both the old and the new dispensations, believed God's word and hoped in his mercy ; all who, though faintly and feebly, trusted in Christ and discarded every other ground of deliverance ; together with the millions who intelligently believed on the Son of God and heartily entered into his service, and we may presume that three fourths, or even a larger proportion, of

all the children of Adam are ultimately saved, and our gracious Creator's design has not been frustrated.

Again, in the dark as we are in reference to the duration of the present economy of Earth, and in view of the glorious things that are prophesied concerning the Church in the future, how do we know but that *ere long* the knowledge of God shall cover the earth; when all shall know him, from the least to the greatest; that this blessed state of prevalence and triumph for the cause of the Lord Jesus may continue for a hundred thousand years, and nineteen out of twenty of all of woman-born shall in the winding up be found gathered into the security and rest of heaven. There is a theory, widely received, that the world will continue, as a place of probation, only seven thousand years from the creation of Adam—the last thousand to be the millennium. But there is a significant fact which antagonizes this theory. That fact is that the Messiah, the Revealer of the way of salvation, did not make his appearance till the end of the fourth thousand. Why should four sevenths of the world's moral life be passed in preparation for the work of three sevenths? Is it usual to spend more time in preparation for, than in the prosecution of, a great work? The Creator's operations in the works of nature contradict such a conclusion. May we not rather suppose that if four thousand years were needed to prepare the world for the promulgation of the Gospel, many times four thousand will be required for the fulfillment of its great purposes? "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." God is not in haste, neither will he allow Satan to triumph in the end. Should such be the case, (and who can say that it may not, will not be,) what a different aspect it presents of the question which has disturbed so many minds as to the goodness of God in creating man. What arithmetic can compute the vastness of the numbers of the progeny of Adam during such a period? Thirteen hundred millions, it is believed, are now living. The mind breaks down in the effort to comprehend even this number. But suppose we make a slight calculation as to the multitudes that have already lived on the earth. If we take one half of the present number as the average for the whole time, and accept the usual computation of three generations to a century, we shall have in the six thousand years one hundred and eighty generations of six hun-

dred and fifty millions each, or the grand total of one hundred and seventeen thousand millions. This, be it remembered, brings us up to the present time only. What shall we say of the myriads of millions of the period we have suggested, should the earth's population increase in the future proportionably to the past.

Now if, in the final outcome of these developments of progressive creation and redemption, ninety-five per cent. shall come to the enjoyment of the eternal inheritance of purity and bliss, who will not rejoice, who will not magnify the grace and goodness of the great Creator? Who, I say, but those who by their own fault shall fail to be partakers of that grace and goodness! Why should ninety-five per cent. of multitudes which an archangel can scarcely number, of intelligences capable of God, be denied being and happiness because five per cent. shall *choose* to die! In other words, why shall *nineteen* be forbidden to enjoy life eternal because *one*, with equal chance to be saved, shall choose to be lost! Leaving the inconceivable numbers of redeemed beings of one order, let us send out thought to traverse the universe. If the number of the inhabitants of the vast domain of the Almighty shall exceed even the present number of the earth's population as far as the orbs which compose it exceed the earth in numbers and magnitude, the very art of calculation shall quail and perish at the contemplation of the task of computing them. What interest have *these* in the work of redemption? We have before plainly intimated that in the case of the good their permanence of bliss is inseparably connected with it. The Son of God, in his human nature, will ever be before their eyes the unceasing reminder of the work he did and the suffering he endured to uphold the majesty of law. God, in Christ, will have come out of the hidden depths of his hitherto invisible existence; from dwelling in the light which no man, nor angel, can approach unto, and will stand before them a revealed Deity, a seen, known, and felt bodily presence. The wounds in his hands and feet and side will bear eternal testimony to the fact of his humiliation, of his death on the cross. His very presence will be God's protest against sin, and the proof of his love for his creatures. That protest and proof will work in them such a sense of the evil of sin, such a dread and abhorrence of that which necessitated the

immolation of a Divine Victim, such a conviction of the absolute and unchangeable opposition of God to all moral evil, and at the same time such a persuasion of the tender pity, the self-sacrificing and all-embracing love of God, that their defection from righteousness shall be, as we have defined the phrase, a *moral impossibility.*

There will be also, in addition to the direct inducements to fidelity presented by their surroundings, a further argument, drawn from the condition of the wicked. The great prison-house of the universe, the hell in which shall be confined the justly damned, will always be before their eyes a living proof that *sin will be punished.* The history of Satan's rebellion and overthrow, of the fall of Adam, and the final ruin of those of his posterity who chose to live and die in sin, will be familiar to every mind; the seething flames of the bottomless pit, the moral pollution and unutterable woe of those who dwell therein, of whom it is said, "the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night,"—all these things will operate to deter from the slightest approach to that path, the entrance upon which would inevitably lead to so direful an end. Taking, then, into the scope of vision, not only the numbers of the race of Adam, when that race shall have accomplished its purpose, but also the continued multiplication of angelic beings, we may well suppose that the ultimate proportion of both those who shall be *delivered* and those who shall be *preserved* from the curse, shall be, not ninety-five, but ninety-nine, or even a greater per cent. of the whole number. For, eternity being unlimited, and the power of God to create also unlimited, the period may arrive when the proportion of those who shall suffer that curse will be almost infinitesimal. Given, a thousand immortal beings, nine hundred and ninety-nine will be saved, one will be lost—shall they be created? Who will answer, No? But let us not be misunderstood here. We fully accept our Lord's statement: "Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." We believe that it applies with terrible force to society in Christianized lands; for it seems to us that hardly one in ten or twenty of the multitudes around us who have the privileges of the Gospel offered to them accept and improve them. Failure to do this insures that those failing will be of

the lost, whether the proportion be great or small. Intelligent, deliberate rejection of Jesus Christ seals a man's fate.

Do not these views present an unanswerable argument for the *eternal* punishment of the wicked? Let these be released from the penalty due to their sin; let the unquenchable fire be put out, and the guilty, even after the lapse of uncounted ages, be either restored to bliss, or struck from being, and where would be the demonstration, the visible monument, of God's indignation against sin, of his unalterable purpose to visit it with condign punishment. Might it not be that, in the eternity beyond such release or annihilation, the impressions of the heinousness of sin would fade, and the very memory of its commission in the long past cease to be, or remain only in connection with the fact of recovery or extinction? In either case what certainty would there be, so far as we can judge, that the same terrible tragedy would not again be enacted, and sin once more make havoc among God's creatures. No, no! "These shall go away into *everlasting* punishment, but the righteous into life" *everlasting.* Rather will we believe that as the Son of God, in his glorified humanity, with his redeemed ones, shall be the eternal witnesses of the compassion and the love of God in the salvation of the righteous, so the wicked and their dark prison-house shall be the eternal monuments of God's hatred of sin and his unalterable purpose to maintain in all its purity and power that holy, and just, and good law, which is the foundation rock on which rest the peace and security of the universe that he has made. Fast bound in chains of darkness "the seal of *eternal disability* will be set upon wicked men and devils." No more shall they go forth to tempt and to destroy. All the activities of their perverted natures may be spent in inflicting torments on each other; but outside of that penitentiary evil shall no more be seen or felt. "God's great purpose to *eliminate evil* from every part of his dominions," save the precinct of hell, and to reserve that hell and its occupants as the standing proof of the curse and punishment of sin, will have been effected. The great consummation will have been reached, and thenceforth, in all the rest of the universe, loyalty and love, purity and peace, shall forever prevail. *The eternal punishment of the wicked is a proof of the goodness of God.*

We turn to a more pleasing theme. The great Day of Judgment is past. The redeemed have entered upon their inheritance. From the first human being that accepted salvation within sight of the garden of Eden to the last and youngest of mortal race whose feeble birth-cry was lost in the loud clangor of the archangel's trump, all, all the purified and saved have begun the life eternal. Begun! but what of continuance and development! Of the enjoyments and employments of heaven we have little specific statement in the Scriptures. Most of the descriptions therein are put in a negative form—"There shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain." "There shall be no more curse . . . there shall be no night there." "And there shall in nowise enter into it any thing that defileth." With the exception of such intimations as these, and the positive assurance of unalloyed happiness, we can glean but little from the Bible on this subject. Why is this? Is it not because, in the first place, we are so familiar with sorrow and suffering here, and the sin which is the cause of them, that, feeling the curse, we can appreciate perfect exemption from it and all its effects; and because, secondly, our work, and bliss, and glory there, will so transcend all our present powers of comprehension that it would be useless to attempt to describe them in the language of earth? If the negative view we feel to be a mighty good, what shall the positive realization be when we enter into full possession. There are, however, expressions here and there, hints scattered through the word of God, which may stimulate thought and justify the grandest conceptions of the glory that shall be revealed. Fullness of joy and pleasures forevermore—shining as the brightness of the firmament—equal unto the angels, knowing as we are known, the crown of glory that fadeth not; a body fashioned like unto our Lord's glorious body—eternal weight of glory—being like the Lord and forever with him; and, incomprehensible dignity and glory, *to sit down with him in his throne!*

These are some of the out-flashings of the sacred word in reference to the future of the saints. But what these things mean who can tell? As flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, so neither can we, while in the flesh, grasp the surpassing revelations. In the language of the prophet,

"Since the beginning of the world men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God! beside thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him:" In my own meditations on these things I have imagined heaven to be not a place of idleness, of mere passive enjoyment, but one of ceaseless activity. I know that there the weary shall *rest;* and it is natural that the toil-worn and burden-bearing of earth should regard cessation from labor as the main element in the blessedness of the better land. But, reasoning from analogy, remembering the unceasing energy of the Creator, the constant employment of the heavenly hosts that *do* his bidding, the universal life, motion, and progress of the lower orders, and of all matter, we can hardly suppose that glorified humanity will form an exception to the general law. Neither can I conceive that such a state of things would be desirable. A proper measure of activity is essential to the highest enjoyment and development of mind and body here, and it is presumable that stagnation would be as ruinous in heaven as we know it to be on earth.

In what way, then, shall we put forth our powers in heaven; in what channels and to what objects shall our energies be directed? We presume that our mental constitution will undergo no radical change by the transfer from our present state; that we shall be there, as here, endowed with understanding, affections, and will. All of these, at least, will have full scope in the life to come. Next to holiness, knowledge is the richest inheritance of an intellectual being. In heaven three things will conspire to our enjoying the most abundant fruits of that inheritance: our mental powers will be perfectly clear, the field of investigation will be inexhaustible, and the period for study will be of eternal duration. I have sometimes thought that the man who took special delight in any particular study will pursue that study with intense gratification. I doubt not that Newton rejoices with exceeding great joy in the ever-widening scope given to his expanding intellect in the study of the stars. The mathematician, the geologist, the chemist, the botanist, the student of nature in living organisms—all will find infinite store of material. The lover of history will have access to the annals of eternity; the lover of the beautiful will revel in delight among countless

works of infinite skill; the lover of music will have his soul thrilled with the melody arising from a universe attuned to perfect harmony. But mere happiness, the enjoyment of pleasure, how rich and pure soever it may be, is not the whole of heaven. Simply to receive, without the effort to diffuse, good, would leave upon our moral nature but an imperfect image of our glorious Creator. We should be unlike God in one most important particular, for he is the *giver* of good, ceaselessly pouring out life and blessing to the farthest verge of his universe. How shall we imitate him?

The song of the redeemed, as given by John, is, "unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us *kings* and *priests* unto God and his Father: to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever." What is implied in the expression "kings and priests?" Shall we be kings without kingdoms, priests without offerings? Rather does it not foreshadow the period when, after the scheme of redemption shall have been wrought out, and the era of eternal peace and loyalty to God shall have been inaugurated, the Supreme Lord shall bestow upon his saints the honor and majesty of governments and kingdoms, in the boundless extent of his own sovereign sway? Will he not send them forth as his representatives, clothed with the dignity and charged with the responsibility of viceroyalty over kingdoms and worlds perhaps yet uncreated? They shall govern in his name, and uphold his authority among the far-off dependencies of the Imperial realm. They shall be the depositaries and administrators of law, form their governments upon the model of the great central power, and minister in love to the highest good and most expansive development of the spiritual beings committed to their charge. Not only shall they, as kings, govern, but as priests they shall teach. Endowed with large store of wisdom, extensive knowledge of the divine character, and deep experience of the divine love, they shall delight in imparting that knowledge to their fellow-subjects. How glorious the work of instructing these in the knowledge of God's law and of God's love! What joy shall thrill their own hearts as they tell of the wondrous history of Man, of his ruin by the Fall, and of his redemption by the sacrifice of the Son of God! What warnings against sin, and incitements to holy obedience they can present

to the new probationers, the new candidates for the crowning seal of unchangeable holiness, to be set upon them when they, too, have successfully passed the test of fidelity! These multitudes of taught and disciplined and perfected immortals shall be the acceptable "fruits" which these "priests" will be permitted to bring as their "offerings" to the foot of the throne. Kings and priests! Kings to govern for God—priests to bring unto God the finished work he committed to their hands.

We must pause. Imagination delights to make her excursions, and to look upon all these glorious prospects of the oncoming Eternity; but we must call her back, and bid her fold her wings and rest.

ART. II.—THE WORD ELOHIM AND JEHOVAH IN GENESIS.

THE unity and authenticity of the Book of Genesis seem not to have been called seriously in question by any one who held the Bible to be a divine revelation until a little more than a hundred years ago. The Jewish Church always looked upon it as an independent book, and held that it was written by Moses. Josephus does not even hint that any one among his people ever doubted either fact. Philo and the Talmuds, both in their times, take for granted, or assert the same. It is so down to the present day. This opinion was adopted by the Christian Church, and held, pretty much without question, till the middle of the last century.

Jean Astruc, an eminent French physician, introduced a new and different theory respecting the book. Astruc was the son of a Protestant minister who on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes became a Roman Catholic. He rose high in his profession, and was made professor of medicine in the college of France. He died in 1766. In 1753 Astruc published a duodecimo book at Brussels and Paris entitled "Conjectures on the Original Memoirs which, it appears, Moses used in Composing the Book of Genesis."

In this volume was started for the first time the theory, which has become so prevalent, that the Book of Genesis was compiled, in part, at least, from pre-existing documents, and that this is

shown by the use of the two words ELOHIM and JEHOVAH in different portions of the book. This publication introduced those questions of authenticity and unity suggested by supposed differences of style which have interested if not edified so many people.

Astruc's position was this: He assumed that there had "existed a number of isolated documents, some twelve in all, which had subsequently by ~~the~~ fault of transcribers been joined and strung together in the present form of Genesis."* Eichhorn pruned and adopted this theory, and his learning and genius procured it a favorable reception throughout the whole of Germany, and so helped to give it a currency which has reached to our day.

It is not, of course, right to judge of a theory simply from its proponents or advocates, but this one does not gain any additional weight from the fact that it originated with a physician of the Court of Louis XIV., and was brought into prominence by a rationalizing critic, of whom Herzog's Encyclopædia says: "His works are more remarkable for attractive fluency of style than for depth and research. Although exceedingly popular at the time, they possess little substantial value." An American authority (M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia) says of him: "The results of his criticism were that the Bible, *as we have it*, has only a moral and literary superiority over other books. The primeval history attributed to Moses was made up of ancient sagas, and gathered up, partly by Moses, into the Pentateuch. His system of interpretation multiplies paradoxes, and tends to uproot the Christian revelation, as such, entirely. His method of interpretation is fast passing into oblivion even in Germany."

To us the general system by which the book of Genesis is treated in this theory is simply a part of that destructive criticism which, if followed to its legitimate results, sweeps away the whole revelation of God in his word. It is precisely like that so-called science which is evermore taking guesses, surmises, and precipitate generalizations from half-made investigations and parading them before the world as solid facts. It has, however, of late been happily growing thin and weak, and is hastening toward its death.†

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* M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia, iii, 778.

† A young friend of ours relates an incident of his student life at Göttingen, which illustrates the probable origin of much of this critical work. He found an advanced

In this paper we shall not have occasion to use the words "Elohist" and "Jehovist." They have no meaning to us. They are an assumption of the thing in question, and are, to us, only the jargon of mistake, and not the true teaching of biblical lore. There is a trick of philosophical skepticism against which we need to be on our guard—the theorist invents a technical term having its meaning only in his theory, he uses it over and over till it becomes familiar to his readers, and they use it too; his opponents use it in combating his theories, till by and by the term becomes fixed, and the thing which it suggested becomes an entity in the minds of men, not by reason of proof, but by the legerdemain of repetition. So we have in science "Protoplasm" *et id omne genus.*

We do not propose to follow the *minutiæ* of the argument by which this theory is thought to be established. Many of them are fanciful and arbitrary, and almost all of them are assumptions so wholly gratuitous that ordinary reasoning cannot touch them. They can be met simply by a denial that their force is felt.

Those who hold Astruc's theory find in Genesis such differences in the use of the two words Elohim and Jehovah that

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student with whom he boarded engaged on an elaborate essay, the object of which was to prove that Luke was not the author of the Gospel called by his name. The man was a splendid Greek scholar, an admirable linguist, and generally very able. The following conversation occurred between them:—

"Why," said the American student, "are you spending time and brain work on that topic?"

"Because," replied the German student, "it will be an elaborate essay on an entirely new theme."

"Do you expect to prove your point?"

"Certainly I do! I shall adduce such proofs, external and internal, that no man shall be able to set them aside."

"Well; what good will come of it, even if your arguments cannot be refuted?"

"I shall have accomplished a great end. I shall be recognized as a writer and a thinker."

"But suppose that nobody *believes* your theory after all. What then?"

"O, that does not matter. I do not believe it myself. But then, you see, I shall have made a work that shall give me rank among German thinkers."

It may be strongly suspected that more than this man have invented theories about the books of the Bible with similar motives behind them, theories which have been adopted in other times and in other lands by those who were more honest and less discerning than they. It would not be strange if the theory of the Book of Genesis, of which we speak, were among the number whose origin was such as this.

they are satisfied that from two to twelve documents, or writers, must have been used or concerned in the work. On the contrary, we propose to exhibit the opposite theory, and endeavor to show from the use of these two words that this book is a unity, composed by one writer of consummate ability and skill.

If this point is established we need give no attention to the proof of the position that Moses was the author. There is no necessity of supposing another, since he meets all the possible requirements of the case, and the consenting voice of antiquity assigns him the place. It can be only a mere biblical dilettanteism that would seek critically to remove him from it.

The fact that methods of writing existed for an unknown period before his time is assumed, and with entire truthfulness, by those who doubt his authorship of the Book of Genesis. Every discovery which modern investigation has been able to make only pushes the invention of letters farther and farther back into an unknown antiquity, antedating the time of Moses a thousand years. No improbability as to his authorship, therefore, can arise from that direction.

His personal ability to compose this book cannot for a moment be questioned. He who could write the laws which have lived and molded the jurisprudence of the civilized world and of all the centuries from that day to this, whose code has never been equaled in purity, justice, and benignity; he who could mold such a commonwealth, and throw his influence on four thousand years and over the earth, had mental force enough to compose this history, and to avail himself of all existing materials to make it complete.

He had literary culture of the highest order. With a mind of vast power, he had received the best training that the richest court of the most learned nation of the time could give. Skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians, matured by the study and meditation of forty subsequent years, surely if any man of all the ages were able to write a book which should take its place and live forever in literature Moses was that man.

Laying aside the fact of his divine inspiration, and standing simply upon the ground of the broadest criticism, we are justified in saying that the man who could compose the Ninetieth Psalm—and we are among those who believe him to have been

its author—who could compose the matchlessly glorious poems of the thirty-second and thirty-third chapters of Deuteronomy—poems whose solemn roll and everlasting swell come to us over the void of forty centuries like nothing else in all literature, that a man of such literary taste could have made such slovenly work as these writers impute to him is impossible. If we should grant that he only made use of materials or documents that he found in existence, that he simply edited them, we may safely assert that it is not within the bounds of possibility that a man of such culture, with such opportunities, making a book which should be the sacred book of his people, and which he intended should last in all their history, should have contented himself with shuffling together a dozen or so of disjointed fragments, and with so little literary skill that students, after thousands of years, reading in his dead language, should be able to select the scraps, mark with accuracy the beginning and end of each, and tell what was his and what was another author's. That a man of profound culture and immeasurable leisure should have done a piece even of editing in a manner so disgraceful—*credat Judæus!* No, we may not say that, for no Jew ever believed it.

We may go farther, and, laying aside for the moment all questions of authorship as far as Moses is concerned, we are justified in asserting that it is an improbability great enough to be an absurdity that any man of any age, whether of Solomon's time or Ezra's time, who should have taken upon himself to write or edit this book, could have done it in so unworkmanlike manner as this theory demands. A literary hack employed in a modern publishing house would lose his place were he to do his work no better than these writers assure us the author of Genesis has done.

There is no necessity of refusing to believe that Moses, in writing this book, made use of older documents relating to the Creation and earlier history of the race. It is possible that he did, though it does not seem to us very probable. It is difficult to conjecture where these authentic documents were to be found, by whom made, or how they had been preserved among this nomadic people. Yet it is not impossible that such documents were in existence and at hand. They *may* have been handed down through Abraham and Isaac and Jacob from

Shem and Noah, if you please. They may have been taken as a part of his library into the ark by the second father of the race; they may have so passed into the hands of one of his children. The destructive critics believe a good many things, and believe them easily; and if any one feels like holding this no strong objection need be made.

That Moses availed himself of a primitive revelation is much more probable. The remains of such a revelation can be traced more or less distinctly among almost all nations. It was, probably, made to the progenitors of the race, and handed, by tradition, down through the ages. The inspired writer of this book may, at the command of God, have taken it, and, correcting the errors which time and tradition had connected with it, have put it in the form which it now wears as a part of this sacred narrative.

The words ELOHIM and JEHOVAH * have a closely defined and distinctive meaning as they are used in the Bible. ELOHIM is the generic name of God, God as the infinite Creator and Governor of the universe, holding the same relation to all creatures whatsoever. It is not necessary to endeavor to fix by etymology the meaning of the term. Such etymological endeavors are more or less unsatisfactory, and often illusive. The word is employed to designate the Supreme Being.

The word JEHOVAH comprehends this general idea, but has also a special and more limited signification—God brought into near and personal relations to men, and especially to his covenant people. While this distinction may not be always clearly defined, and while confessedly the one name is used interchangeably with the other, yet the difference between them is clearly evident in the Holy Scriptures. Elohim is God of the creation and of the human race; Jehovah is the same God as the God of his people, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.

When Jonah was roused from his sleep he was bidden by the terrified sailors to call upon his God. They had called upon

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* It will save trouble and the care of transferring in every case the Hebrew words, if we keep in mind the fact that, in our authorized version, the words EL, ELOAH, and ELOHIM, in their various inflections, are uniformly rendered GOD, while the word JEHOVAH is with the same uniformity rendered LORD, *e. g.*, Gen. iii, 1: 'Which Jehovah Elohim—The Lord God—had made."

theirs. "They cried every man unto his Elohim." They said to Jonah, "What meanest thou, O sleeper? Arise, call upon thy Elohim, if so be that Elohim will think upon us, that we perish not." (Jonah i, 6.) Jonah himself when the fatal lot had fallen upon him replies to their questions, "I am a Hebrew; and I fear Jehovah, Elohim of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land." They would not have understood all that he meant had he not used the word Jehovah—Jehovah, the covenant God of the Hebrew, was his Elohim. This distinctive use of the two words is carefully kept up throughout the book. When they who are not God's covenant people are referred to, the word Elohim is employed; when Jonah speaks Jehovah is the word used, except in the last chapter, when the two are interchanged. "The people of Nineveh," it is said, "believed Elohim," and the king commanded the people to "cry mightily unto Elohim," "and Elohim repented of the evil." (iii, 5–10.)

This book, written some seven centuries after the Pentateuch, gives striking evidence not only of the distinction between the words, but the persistence with which it is maintained in the Bible.

A very remarkable instance of this distinctive use of the words is found in Jehovah's call to Cyrus in the forty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, perhaps a century later than the instance just referred to. Addressing the heathen king in prophecy, it is said, "And I will give thee the treasures of darkness, . . . that thou mayest know that I, Jehovah, which call thee by thy name, am the Elohim of Israel. . . . I am Jehovah, and there is none else, no Elohim beside me." Cyrus was to understand that Jehovah was God, and that there was no God but Jehovah, the God of the people whom he was to set free.

We can observe the same distinction kept up with a deeper spiritual meaning in the Psalms, whether the earlier or the later. It is often very touching and impressive. Take as an example the Nineteenth Psalm. When David speaks of the creation, the material universe, as illustrating and proclaiming the greatness and the goodness of God to the whole world, El is the word used—"The heavens declare the glory of God." But when the Scripture revelation, God's distinguishing gift to his people, (Rom. iii, 2,) is brought into view, then the more

tender and personal word is used—"The law of JEHOVAH is perfect," (v. 7,) and so on to the end of the psalm, where he softly prays, "Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O JEHOVAH, my strength and my Redeemer."

The distinction between the two words seems to take hold on the spiritual experience of the Psalmist. In psalms where God is regarded as withdrawn from the soul, and the believer looks toward him as from a distance, and cries after him as after an absent God, ELOHIM seems to be the natural word. It was less personal and less near; it was appropriate when God seemed far away.

Notice this in the Forty-second Psalm: "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O Elohim! My soul thirsteth for Elohim. . . . Why art thou cast down, O my soul? . . . hope thou in Elohim: . . . O my Elohim, my soul is cast down within me." For a moment the cloud uplifts itself, and then the word changes: "Yet JEHOVAH will command his loving-kindness in the day-time." But in a moment, as the darkness shuts him in again, he cries, "I will say unto Elohim my rock, Why hast thou forgotten me?" and the word at the end is still the distant word—"Hope thou in Elohim."

So in the Fifty-first Psalm, under a bitter consciousness of his sin, David does not take the covenant name into his pleadings: "Have mercy upon me, O Elohim!"—and but once in the whole psalm does he venture to use the word Jehovah.

The One Hundred and Nineteenth Psalm, which relates wholly to God's revelation in the Scriptures, and is an extended expression of the believer's confidence and love and joy, as we should expect, with a single exception in verse 115, where the more general word is accompanied by the appropriating pronoun, "My God," uses the one word Jehovah throughout the whole of its one hundred and seventy-six verses.

Indeed, the use of these two words in the Psalms so accurately varies with the peculiar spiritual feeling to be conveyed, that, given the tone of the psalm, we can almost predict the word which shall be employed. It may not be always immediately apparent, but it is so prevalent that it seems to us unmistakable. Perhaps, were we able to enter into the exact spiritual state of

the writer's heart, we should be able in every case to perceive the accuracy of the choice of the term.*

The two words CHRIST and JESUS may illustrate what is meant here. They both refer to the same person, but the one has a wide Messianic sense, the other a more personal and individual sense. In different spiritual states each, perhaps, would be used in its place. In moments of personal communion the latter would be the natural utterance, while perhaps, when the great kingdom of God is spoken of, the other word would be employed. The instinct of the Christian heart might lead unconsciously to the choice. It has been said that Paul was especially fond of the name Jesus, and that John uses it more frequently than the other Evangelists. We confess that we do not recognize this fact, though the supposition may illustrate the point before us.

There is a fine case of the instinctive use of these two words in the account of the fight between David and Goliath, (1 Sam. xvii, 43-46.) "The Philistine cursed David by his Elohim." David said, "I come to thee in the name of Jehovah of hosts, the Elohim of the armies of Israel. . . . This day will Jehovah deliver thee into mine hand . . . that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel;" or, rather, as it is in the Hebrew, "that Elohim is in Israel." Here the marked distinction between the two words is most forcibly exhibited. ELOHIM had a general sense, and was one which both the Philistine and David could employ; but JEHOVAH was restricted, and pointed out the covenant God of Israel.

These instances of the use of these words, each conveying its peculiar impression and thought, might be multiplied indefinitely outside the Pentateuch, (see Ruth i, 15-17;) but we have presented illustrations enough to convey the meaning which we suppose to inhere in them. It would be rash to assert that the sharpness of the foregoing definition is everywhere and always maintained, yet the fact that it is not is no proof that the distinction does not exist. Much of the peculiar

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* We are not sure but that Latimer had this distinction of terms, perhaps unconsciously, in his mind when he was giving an account of his examination before the bishops. "They," he says, (Froude's Hist. Eng., iii, p. 108,) "had appointed me there to write all mine answers: for they made sure work that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them: *God was my good Lord*, and gave me answer; I never else could have escaped it."

use of the words was, probably, instinctive, prompted by feeling rather than argument. If, as we have said in respect to the Psalms, we could get at the writer's exact mental state, we might detect the reason for his use of one or the other in every case. But more than this; we suppose that often, by a very clearly understood intention, the two words were used interchangeably for the very purpose of conveying, without any assertion, but all the more forcibly for that, the idea that Elohim and Jehovah were names of one and the same God.

If we are not mistaken, just here in these words may be indicated the solution of that problem which has been baffling the translators of the Bible in certain heathen lands. In China, ever since Protestant missionaries have attempted to render the words of the holy Scriptures into the language of that people, there has been a controversy about the proper word to be used for the name of God. To use the English term, or any modern European term, would not convey any meaning at all; while to use the vernacular word would be, at once, to attach a heathen sense to it. Now, suppose that translators should do just what we claim the sacred writers have done; suppose that they should take the word most common among the people for God and put it in the place and employ it as the word Elohim is employed, perpetually blending it and overshadowing it with the definite term which points out the Christian's God. Would not this do just what is done in the Bible—lift the more general term into a purer atmosphere, and soon give it its true and sacred sense? We are not familiar enough with the matter to say that this has not been attempted.

With this distinction in our minds between the words, let us examine this Book of Genesis.

The book opens with an account of the creation of the world, of the origin of all things from the hand of an infinite Creator. The history is general, and has no special relation to human redemption or to God's moral universe. In accordance with this broad and general conception, the broad and general term Elohim is employed through the whole of the first chapter, and to the third verse of the second chapter, where the first should properly have ended. No other term is used throughout, simply because no other term would have been appropriate.

The most generic word is used, because the thoughts were of the most extended and general character.

With the fourth verse of the second chapter an entirely new and advanced topic comes before us. It is not a physical universe that is here to be treated of, but a moral universe. Now all that is personal in the divine nature is brought into view. One that studies the passage closely with this idea before him, it would seem, can scarcely avoid being impressed with the insight and extreme skill with which this transition is made. It is just what a clear-headed—we say not divinely inspired—man would do. He is now about to connect this infinite One with *man* and that moral universe in which man lives. He, therefore, briefly recapitulates in a single sentence what was extendedly related in the former chapter, and immediately speaks of man's creation as a part of that great work which God, Elohim, had done. With the presence of this moral being, man, in the scene—this being who is to hold personal relations to the Creator of all—the new and personal word is introduced. Yet the former general word is not dropped. Had this been done the danger would have been that the reader would have supposed that a new and different God was referred to. To avoid this, the two words are associated and combined through the remainder of the chapter. The passage is remarkable, both for the evident purpose in view and as being the only instance in the Bible where the collocation of Jehovah Elohim is maintained through so extended a passage. One may easily wonder at the criticism which can not only fail to see the purpose of the writer, but also can find only slovenly inattention where there is evidence of highest skill, and can see the work of two or more minds where the compact work of one so clearly reveals itself. We will not stop to speak of how this blending of the two terms affects the argument of those who contend for a dozen, more or less, of documents and writers. Perhaps an "Elohist" and a "Jehovist" compromised on this passage!

As we advance to the third chapter the use of the two terms is clearly defined. In the opening statement of the writer the combined words Jehovah Elohim are used: "Now the serpent was more subtile than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made." But as soon as the serpent speaks the personal term is dropped and the more general is used alone.

"Yea, hath Elohim said," and it is continued in his conversation with the woman. When the conversation with the serpent ends, the combined term is resumed, and continues, as we should expect it to do, to the close of the chapter. In this way the idea is emphatically and impressively conveyed that the infinite Creator, who made the physical universe, is also the moral Governor of the world of intelligent and responsible being. It is done more powerfully than mere assertion could have done it by this skillful combination of the names of God.

This connection having been thus established, and the narrative proceeding to relate the fall of man and so the history of Redemption, the single word Jehovah, God of the covenant of promise, is employed. It is continued to the end of the chapter, when the remark is made, "Then began men to call upon the name of Jehovah," meaning, as we suppose, "then began men to have clear ideas of this personal God, Jehovah."

The fifth chapter is, as its title declares, a genealogy. The universal history is, for the time, abandoned, and the narrative flows in a single channel toward a peculiar person, holding peculiar relations to God—Noah. Naturally (one can hardly see how he could have avoided it) the historian begins the genealogy with the first man, Adam, and as naturally uses the general word Elohim up to the point where Noah's name is mentioned, then the word Jehovah is used. In the remainder of the history the two words are used interchangeably without any special signification, unless it is to show how inseparably they are blended in the writer's mind.

The flood, of course, makes a new starting point of the race, and so of the history. But it is not now a history of a physical universe, but the history of the race of men, a history which is to culminate in its redemption by the Son of God. So, as the new chapter opens with the dispersion, Jehovah, not Elohim, is said to have come down upon the ungodly builders of Babel. Jehovah scatters them from thence upon the face of the earth. So, too, when the narrative, as in the case of Noah before the flood, now confines itself to a single channel and flows toward Abraham, the friend of God, Jehovah is still the word uniformly used.

This continues till in the thirteenth chapter the account of the attack of the kings upon the plain of Sodom is given. This

has been spoken of as undoubtedly a document introduced almost without connection into the history. Those who so consider it seem to overlook the design of its introdution. A great historical type, one of the most remarkable, if not absolutely the most remarkable personal type in the whole Bible, was to be placed in this historical picture which Moses was painting. The story of the battle of the kings is simply the necessary background to it.

In this episode the peculiar use of the two words is noticeable and instructive. Melchizedek, out of the line of God's chosen people, and in this sense not in covenant relation with him, is called "the priest of the most high God," and in speaking of himself uses these terms. Abraham, however, in his reply uses first the word Jehovah, and, to show that both he and Melchizedek had the same Being in mind, connects it with the terms which the king had just used: "I have lifted up my hand unto Jehovah, the most high God."

In the fifteenth chapter the covenant of Jehovah with Abraham is renewed, and the peculiar use of the two words can be seen. The narrative uses the word Jehovah, "Jehovah came unto Abram," (xv, 1;) but Abram, not yet called by his covenant name, and not yet, it may be, clearly seeing all that was in his call, couples the two words when he speaks. The narrative, however, uses the single word Jehovah.

In the sixteenth chapter, the history of Ishmael, a part of Abraham's history, the word Jehovah, naturally, is used throughout.

The seventeenth chapter makes a renewal of the divine covenant with Abraham. The infinite God is about to confirm and to establish, in a more significant way and by the sign of circumcision, his covenant. We should expect to find the account opening with the covenant word. So it does, and it is coupled with the general word, and both are made inexpressibly impressive by the additional word "Almighty"—"The Lord appeared to Abram and said unto him, I am the Almighty God." In the rest of the chapter, with an exquisite propriety, the word Elohim is used. This infinite God is making the covenant, and the same word is used throughout.

In the account given in the eighteenth chapter of that wonderful approach of Jehovah to Abraham when he permits him

to test the power of prayer and gives to all the ages the proof of God's willingness to be moved by it, we find the one word Jehovah used with unvarying uniformity. God was in exceedingly near and personal relations with man, and the personal word is used.

The nineteenth chapter, which is only a continuation of the account of the eighteenth, has the same uniform use of the word Jehovah, except in the single sentence where the fact of the success of Abraham's prayer is noted in the saving of Lot out of Sodom. Why it is used just there we do not see; we hardly think that an "Elohist" put it there, as he was revising a "Jehovist" manuscript.

In the twentieth chapter, which gives the narration of the intercourse between Abimelech and Abraham, where one in the covenant and one outside of it come together and converse with one another, the two words are used interchangeably.

The twenty-first chapter gives the birth of Isaac and a continuation of the history of Ishmael. When speaking of Ishmael the word Elohim is used. When in the same chapter the Philistine Abimelech speaks he uses naturally the word Elohim; while Abraham, setting up an altar and a grove, calls "on the name of Jehovah, the everlasting God," El Holam, advancing beyond the thought of the Philistine to that of his covenant God.

There is no mention of the divine name in the twenty-third chapter; but in the twenty-fourth, when Abraham would administer an oath of the utmost solemnity to his trusted servant he makes him swear by terms which should cover the whole conception of God, both general and personal. "I will make thee swear," he says, "by Jehovah, the Elohim of heaven and the Elohim of the earth;" while through the remainder of the incident of the espousal of Rebecca the two words are used sometimes in connection with each other, sometimes singly, but without, it would seem, any special intention except such as the natural avoidance of repetition might suggest.

As the history of Jacob is given in the following chapters there is nothing which claims special attention on the point which we are considering till we come to the occasion where he makes his selfish avowal: "If Elohim will be with me . . . so that I come to my father's house in peace; then shall Jeho-

vah be my Elohim." It would seem that the distinction between the two words could hardly be made more emphatic by actual use than in this sentence. He speaks of Jehovah as God in a nearer and more personal sense than that which lay in the word Elohim, and so the one was set over against the other in his vow.

In the remaining history of Jacob's sojourn in Mesopotamia and his exodus from it, it will be noticed that usually, perhaps invariably, when Laban speaks or is spoken of and the occasion demands the use of the divine name, Elohim is the word employed. Jacob himself not yet, it would seem, having come into a clear recognition of Jehovah's covenant does not use that name, but all through the story speaks of God as the "Elohim of my father, Elohim of Abraham." Indeed, it is very remarkable that in the narrative of Jacob's life up to the point where the story of Joseph is taken up, the name Jehovah is nowhere used except in a solitary instance, when in a moment of utter distress and extremity he cries out, "O Elohim of my father Abraham, and Elohim of my father Isaac, Jehovah which saidst unto me, Return unto thy country," etc. (xxxii, 9.)

Jacob himself, as we have seen, had a very clear conception of the distinction between the terms, and at crisis moments of his life used them with it in view. Why he should not have observed it generally is very suggestive. Was it because he never in his spiritual experiences came into that clear recognition of Jehovah's covenant which was given to Abraham? That he did not is very certain.

The history of Joseph opens with the continuous use of the word Jehovah—"Jehovah was with Joseph," "Jehovah was with him," "Jehovah blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake." And this is continued in the story of his prison life.

When he is brought before Pharoah, as we should expect, the covenant name is laid aside and Elohim is used, since the king of Egypt would not know the meaning of Jehovah. So, too, in the conversation of Joseph with his brethren he does not use the word Jehovah; it would have betrayed him when he wished to be disguised. They, too, employed the more general term, since he was to them, at the time, a heathen prince. So through all these interviews, when they are unknown to each

other the word Jehovah does not appear, and, for a very obvious reason, it was a term peculiar to their family.

Through the remainder of the book the word Jehovah occurs but once. The narrative follows the life of Jacob, and in it all, up to its close, the word Elohim is uniformly employed. Perhaps it was because Jacob himself, as indeed it appears to us, did not, till the last, ever reach clearly and fully the meaning of Jehovah's covenant relation to him. The style of his life, with its worldly policy, its trickery and dishonesty, is in striking contrast with the lofty purity and sublime faith of his father Abraham and Isaac. He was not a man of like faith with them.

As, however, his life comes to an end, and just before his departure from earth, some new visions of his covenant God were given him. Then a gleam of the light of faith seems to have been let down upon his soul, and he cried out, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Jehovah!" In darkness all along, he had not been accustomed to call God by that name. Now in this new revelation of faith, and as he drew near to the heavenly world, the covenant title breaks from his lips. And this is the period of all of Jacob's life that is selected in the eleventh of Hebrews as that which distinguished him as one of the men of faith; "By faith Jacob, when he was a dying, blessed both the sons of Joseph." Bethel and Peniel and all the rest are passed by, while the last act of his life is chosen in the New, as it is marked in the Old Testament by the all precious name Jehovah.

We have thus traced with some care the use of these two words in this book. In the review it does not seem to us a violent or unreasonable conclusion, that, so far from its being a proof of different or separate authorship, it is proof most emphatic and clear that this book was written by one man, whose spiritual insight—not to say the revelation of God—led him to employ with exceeding care each word in the especial place in which it stands.

We do not assert that we are able in every instance to explain each variation in the language, yet we may have a strong assurance that, had we the same insight, and could we feel the sublime forces which moved the writer, it would be all transparently clear.

Perhaps it will not be out of place to add a single thought at

the conclusion of this discussion. In the New Testament the name Jehovah is laid aside; yet not so much laid aside as submerged in the oceanlike name which He who came from God and knew what man needed gave us as the name by which God should be addressed—"Our Father who art in heaven." In this perpetual reaching forth toward God in the old covenant word Jehovah, is there not a reproof of that type of piety which, even now, shrinks so away from Him, and lives in bondage and at a distance? It may be a question whether multitudes of Christians, with the revelation of God's Son within them, (Gal. i, 16,) and with the covenant word Father on their lips, do not live farther away from God than they who in that olden time in their higher and better moments called upon Jehovah, their God and their fathers' God.

ART. III.—THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTES OF INDIA.

NOTHING has been more inseparably connected with the popular conceptions concerning Hindu institutions, nothing, indeed, has formed a more prominent and distinguishing feature of Indian civilization, than the system of castes, to whose tyrannical yoke the inhabitants of India have bowed for centuries. It is true, there has been more or less of the caste spirit in all countries, ancient and modern. Rome had its patricians and plebeians, the soil of Greece was often stained with the blood of its children when the aristocratic families fought with the partisans of democracy. Nor did Christianity succeed in eradicating a feeling so strongly opposed to the spirit of its Master. The chivalry of the Middle Ages, the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church, the guilds of the burghers in the opulent cities, the deplorable condition of the peasants, who were little better than serfs before and after the Reformation—all bears witness to a widely spread caste spirit. Yet however exclusive and arbitrary these lines, drawn to separate the different grades of society, may appear to us, they dwindle down almost to absolute insignificance when compared with the castes of the brahmanical hierarchy.

Elsewhere plebeians may be admitted at times into the ranks of the hereditary nobility; the Roman priesthood takes its acolytes from all sections of the community; in most countries the distinction between the different classes of the people is chiefly based on social considerations without affecting their rights as equals before God and the law; while castes in the fully developed brahmanical sense are based on, and intimately connected with, the whole religious edifice of the Hindu empire, and thus are enforced not only by social customs, but also by public law.

More than three thousand years have passed since the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda fell from the lips of their inspired bards. Long before Nineveh was destroyed by Babylon, before Jerusalem had been taken by Nebuchadnezzar, before Rome was founded; and even before Troy had encountered the Grecian hosts at its gates, the forefathers of the Hindus had composed those songs and prayers by which they invoked their gods, and expressed their wonder and awe at the sight of the powers of nature. The Rig-Veda, the repository of these hymns, in the opinion of the Hindus the most sacred book of their sacred literature, was the work of many generations; the very earliest portions of it may be referred to about the fifteenth century before Christ, while the composition of some of the hymns showing traces of brahmanical influence must have belonged to a much later age. With the Rig-Veda, then, this remarkable document of a long by-gone time, begins the dawn, still dim, it is true, but yet breaking forth powerfully enough to dispel the darkness that enshrouds the beginning of Indo-European and of Hindu history. When we open its leaves the picture that is unrolled before our eyes represents to us the ancestors of the Hindus shortly after their departure from the common Aryan home just at the vestibule of the country they were afterward destined to make the seat of a notable civilization. We find them at that early era on the Seven Rivers, "sapta sindhavas," that is, the Indus, the Sarasvati, and the five rivers of the Punjab. What was then their social and religious condition? Was there any system of castes prevalent among them? Separated into many tribes and clans, they were engaged in combats with their own kindred, or in deadly warfare with the former inhabitants of the soil, whom they had driven

away from their homes, but who had not yet been completely subdued. Warlike, still uncorrupted by the luxury and licentiousness to which they fell victims in later years, not yet weakened by the enervating influences of the climate, fatal to all northern immigrants, they lived free and independent of each other, although recognizing a common bond of union such as will always connect a people of the same origin, the same language, and the same religion. Although they lead, generally speaking, a patriarchal life, partly of a pastoral, partly of an agricultural character, their state of society was not of a very primitive description. It may be rather designated as representing a transition period from the latter to a higher civilization. Their wealth consisted chiefly of herds and flocks, and they kept cows for the sake of their milk, butter, and curds; but mention is also made of villages (grâmâ) and strong fortified places (pur). The hymns of the Rig-Veda contain many references to kings, yet their authority seems to have been limited. Names also for the governor of a fortification (pûrpati) and for the ruler of a village or tribe (grâmanî) occur. During the very earliest epoch of Indian antiquity the father was king and priest within his own home. He prepared himself the sacrifice, invoked the gods for abundant rain, asked for their blessings of the harvest, prayed to them for long life, numerous offspring, and protection against his foes, all this in a simple and childlike faith, and with a strongly pronounced religious instinct.

Among the most famous names of the Vedic Olympus is especially prominent that of Varuna, (corresponding etymologically to οὐρανός.) Varuna is derived from the root *var*, to cover, to envelop, and denotes then primarily "coverer, enveloper," that is, the one who embraces the whole universe, upholds heaven and earth, sees and knows all things. To him the purest and noblest hymns are addressed, showing a high tone of true moral sentiment. In later times Varuna sank to the position of a mere god of the ocean, and thus his character became entirely changed. Next to Varuna we notice Indra, the god who smote the rain-cloud and brought down the waters from the sky. It is not surprising that in a country where long-lasting drought occasions the greatest calamities, a high place in the veneration of the people was occupied by a divinity

conceived as combating the malicious demons of the atmosphere, and forcing them to release the waters which they kept shut up in the clouds. Another of the celestials chiefly worshiped was Agni, (Lat., *Ignis*,) fire and god of fire, the heavenly messenger who invites the gods to the sacrifice. There are besides many other deities of a less prominent character. The general feature of the early Vedic religion is its simplicity; the elements are personified, eulogized, and magnified, and the hymns addressed to them express the wishes of the worshipers for long life, wealth, progeny, and triumph over their enemies. The primitive religion of the Hindus as portrayed in the Rig-Veda forms a striking contrast to the gross idolatry and senseless superstition of the succeeding ages.

As to the position of women and the state of morals at the primeval era of Hindu history, we can safely affirm that it compares most favorably with the later condition of society in India. Yet we must not imagine, as some too enthusiastic admirers of that country seem to suggest, an ideal state of perfection and of nothing but pure morality. It is true, the position of women when compared with that of the following centuries was, upon the whole, an honorable one. The marriage tie was generally held sacred; there was scarcely any polygamy; husband and wife approached the gods in common prayer, presenting their oblations together; we have even hymns, and some of them of the highest order, which are ascribed to the authorship of women—a fact which goes far in proving the high rank that at least some of them must have held at those times. It is certain that they were not yet condemned to that life of seclusion in which they have sighed for ages. That they were formerly permitted, at times at least, to choose their husband, is evident from the so-called Svayamvara, a festal entertainment given by the father of a marriageable young girl. Svayamvara means self-choice, and denoted the free selection of a husband by king's daughters—a custom whose origin undoubtedly belonged to the Vedic era. The most graphic description of a Svayamvara is given in the story of Nala and Damayantî in the Mahâbhârata. The royal maiden, although conscious of her right to choose a husband, displays throughout every mark of womanly modesty. The flocking of the rajahs to the Svayamvara, their eager desire to woo the fair Damayantî,

the free and restrained, though loyal, intercourse between the two sexes—a striking contrast to the later secluded life of women—all this betrays a spirit not unlike that of the chivalry during the Middle Ages. The Svayamvara often became the occasion for the young nobility to exhibit their valor and skill in arms before the eyes of the assembled multitude, and then at times the young princess was not entirely free to exercise the right of choice, but she was rather bestowed as a reward on that warrior who had distinguished himself most before the other knights. Such was the case at the Svayamvara of Draupadî, who became the prize of Arjuna. At a later period these feats of arms at the Svayamvara degenerated into deadly feuds between the jealous chieftains, like the tournaments in Europe, to which they bore a striking resemblance. Not unfrequently, also, their character was entirely altered. Instead of the nobles taking an active part in the chivalrous combats, professional prize-fighters and wrestlers were employed, who either fought with each other, or with wild beasts, such as tigers and bears. The scenes enacted then before the rajah and his court remind us of the spectacles of the gladiators at Rome and of the bull-fights of the matador in Spain. However, this depraved form of the Svayamvara, so unlike the primitive institution, belongs, as we have stated before, to a later age of Hindu history.

From the preceding sketch of life in India, as portrayed by the earlier portion of the Rig-Veda, it is evident that the system of castes could not have been introduced. It would have been wholly irreconcilable with a condition of things such as we have indicated above. Later ages have produced such striking changes in the world of ideas and institutions in India that we can hardly recognize the descendants of the ancient Hindus, in their new and strange garb, to be the kindred of the Vedic sages and rajahs.

In a period which must have been separated by many centuries from the earlier era of Indian civilization, the great body of the people were divided into four castes; that is, 1. Brahmans, or priests; 2. Kshatriyas, or warriors, sometimes also called Râjanyas, a military nobility; 3. Vaiçyas, or merchants and farmers, (the middle class, the mass of the people;) 4. Çudras, or serfs.

Although, as has just been pointed out, no caste-system

could have existed during the early ages of Hindu history, nevertheless some traces may be detected which foreshadow a transition period from the free Vedic state to the strict and exclusive brahmanical hierarchy of later days. When the people began to leave their former seats in and near the Punjab and spread farther and farther over the rich and fertile country eastward and southward toward the Ganges and Jumnâ, the former more primitive condition of things was necessarily modified in many respects. During the Vedic age all had free access to the gods by prayer and sacrifice, but regular priests seem to have first been employed at national feasts and on other notable occasions. It is not surprising that among a people of a pre-eminently religious instinct they could soon gain some influence and authority. The most ancient name for a priest was "purohita," one put forward; namely, one who had distinguished himself by a special gift for arousing the devotion of the mass. The "purohita" became the family priest of the king, the latter's friend and adviser in peace and war. His influence may have been very great at times, according to circumstances, but he had no exclusive privilege for officiating as a priest. During and after the period of conquest in the eastern and southern regions of Hindustan the petty kings and chieftains struggled to regain their former independence, but it was in vain; power became concentrated in the hands of a few, the most distinguished rajahs, while the other chiefs sank to the condition of a military nobility. This change, however, did not take place without a great deal of bloodshed, and in the struggles for supremacy that ensued between the different rajahs many an opportunity was given to the priests to increase their influence. The ancient hymns, the free impulse of the heart, came to be considered as peculiarly holy, and their contents were transmitted with special care from generation to generation. Yet as time went on their meaning became less and less intelligible to the great mass of the people, and thus the authority of those who had preserved the traditions in their families and pretended to the right understanding of that sacred treasure increased slowly but constantly. There was yet no caste in the proper sense of the word, but the dignity of a priest began to become hereditary in certain families. The real or supposed authors of the hymns

were called "rishis," and their descendants, or the families of the latter, first transmitted the accounts of the origin of those hymns, and took charge of the preservation of their text, claiming, also, the correct interpretation of difficult and obscure passages therein. With the hymns was closely connected the observance of the sacrifices. The latter had been, like the rest of early Vedic religion, of a very simple character, but in course of time, with the rising power and ambition of the priests, and with the radical change of the whole system of worship, the sacrifices also became greatly altered in their nature, and were increased to an infinite number, observed with the most scrupulous care, and to the most trifling minutiæ. It is self-evident that after this artificial elaboration of the sacrifices not every householder could attend to them, and necessarily a certain class of persons had to make it their particular and exclusive care to represent the people at large at their religious exercises. Thus the priests became more and more separated from the rest of the community. Soon they came to be the only ones that were thoroughly familiar with the sacred literature. They began to form a powerful union as their mutual interests demanded it, and, thanks to their crafty and unscrupulous devices, they succeeded in the end in monopolizing the worship of the gods. It is natural for people of the same principles, the same calling, and especially the same interests, to unite in a fraternity to protect what they consider their rights, and it is equally according to human nature that under favorable circumstances they should try to encroach upon the rights of others, and claim privileges for themselves to which they are not entitled. Thus arose a division of the people into different classes among the ancient Egyptians, among the aborigines of Peru and Mexico, and even in Attica during the famous Cecropian era; but it will be difficult to meet any where else with so powerful an alliance as has been cemented by the brahmanical priesthood—even the caste of the disciples of Loyola cannot be compared with it. That the high position ultimately attained by the Brahmans was gained only gradually, can also be seen from the different significations of the term "Brahman." At first it seems to have had the sense of "seer, sage," and is sometimes applied to the authors of the hymns, although they were commonly called "rishis;" afterward it appear

that by "Brahman" an officiating priest was denoted, and lastly a "priest" by profession. It is only in works of a later age that "Brahman" designated the member of a caste, (the caste of the Brahmans.) In fact "Brahman" is derived from the neuter noun Bráhman, (accent on the first syllable,) which itself comes from a root, "barh," meaning originally "exerting one's self." The primitive signification of Bráhman was then "devotional exertion, worship," and thus that of its derivative "Bráhmán," worshiper, to which succeeded then the "meanings" given above.

While thus the members of the sacerdotal class were striving for the first rank in the Hindu community, most of the former petty kings and chieftains were gradually reduced, as we have seen, to the position of a mere military nobility, and came to form, with the great rajahs who had succeeded in establishing extensive empires, the caste of the Kshatriyas. The term "kshatriyas" denoted primarily "ruler;" it is an adjective derived from the noun "kshatra," meaning "rule, royal power." The Kshatriyas, however, did not submit so easily to the pretensions of the priestly order; on the contrary, many contests arose between the two rival classes when each of them strove to attain the supremacy over the other. Instances are found, indeed, where the haughty Kshatriyas are represented as looking down with scorn upon the priests, and there is no doubt that the latter were often treated with contempt by the mighty rajahs before the brahmanical hierarchy was fully established and secured; yet in the end the Brahmans left the field as acknowledged victors. The conflict between the two castes may in some respects be compared with the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Germany, and particularly in Italy during the Middle Ages. The Brahmans alone would never have been powerful nor warlike enough to crush the Kshatriyas by force of arms, any more than the pope and his priestly host could alone have resisted the armies of Barbarossa. Some princes took for the sake of their own aggrandizement, or, perhaps, sometimes from better motives, the part of the Brahmans against too powerful rajahs; but in the end the priests came out of the struggle triumphant, owing their success, as in other countries and at all times, chiefly to their mysterious influence over the masses of the people. It is certain that the plains of

the Ganges often witnessed scenes not very unlike in character those of Henry IV. before Gregory VII. at Canossa. At the same time the former hardy warriors had become more and more effeminate by the influence of the destructive climate, the increasing luxury and licentiousness, and at last most of them were mere priest-ridden kings and mercenary soldiers, easily checked by superstitious fear and overawed at the tyrannical policy of the Brahmans. The two great epic poems, the Mahábhárata and the Rámáyana, contain many points of interest in regard to the relations between the Brahmans and their rivals; but, unfortunately, the value of these works for strict historical purposes is greatly diminished by the layers of supernatural matter and religious myths with which they are covered, and it is no easy task to discover the strata of truth which may underlie the fictitious portions of both epics. The framework of the Mahábhárata consists of little more than ballads, which were composed to glorify the warlike exploits of the ancient rajahs. Afterward they fell into the hands of brahmanical compilers, who by additions and interpolations so distorted and changed the primitive accounts that they can hardly be separated from the mass of later legendary tales, ridiculous myths, and brahmanical doctrines that have been grafted on them during the course of many centuries. There is little doubt that the Kshatriya bards exaggerated the deeds of their heroes perhaps more than the Troubadours and Minnesinger did in regard to their Christian champions; but there is absolute certainty that the Brahmans were not over-scrupulous in so transforming and shaping the original traditions as to make them wholly subservient to their own interests, and to the satisfaction of their boundless ambition. Besides, the heroes of the poem belong to one age, the final compilation of the work to another. The primitive accounts bear every mark of the early Vedic period; the later falsifying interpolations and changes took place while the Brahmans were striving for the sole supremacy, or had already arrived at the zenith of their power. While the Mahábhárata is really a cyclopædia of national legends, and its more than 200,000 verses are the product of several centuries, the Bámáyana, or at least the greater portion of it, is the work of one man. Like the Mahábhárata, it was molded into its present shape by brahmanical influence,

and it has an historical character only in so far as it bears witness to the diffusion of Hindu civilization toward the south of India, the so-called Deccan and Ceylon. The contest between the priests and their adversaries forms a dark, and, without doubt, also a blood-stained chapter in the history of India, although the accounts of the destruction that had been going on, as related by Hindu authors, are greatly exaggerated, and sometimes simply fabulous. It is said in the Vanaparvan (book iii) of the Mahâbhârata that Râma swept away all the Kshatriyas from the earth twenty-one times, and formed five lakes of blood.

One of the most famous incidents that is said to have attended the conflict between the military and priestly castes, is the enmity between the families of Vasishtha and Vievâmitra. The origin of the inextinguishable hatred between the two rivals dates from the Vedic age, and seems to have arisen from jealousy. It appears that both Vasishtha and Vievâmitra were, though at different periods, the purohitas of Rajah Sudas, one of those petty kings that reigned during the early era of Indian antiquity, and that at some time the one was supplanted by the other in that monarch's favor. There are few names so illustrious and well known throughout the whole period of the Vedic age, and even of later times, as those of Vasishtha and Vievâmitra. The latter is styled the author, or rishi, of the third book of the Rig-Veda, as, with few exceptions, all the hymns of that book were composed by himself or his descendants. For similar reasons the seventh book of the Rig-Veda is ascribed to the authorship of his rival. Vasishtha became, in later works, the very type of a true Brahman, and the most adulatory praises are lavished on him, not unfrequently at the expense of Vievâmitra. In reality, however, Vasishtha was nothing more than the domestic priest of a king, the purohita, and could not have represented the caste of the Brahmans, as during that early age there were, as we have seen, no castes in the proper sense of the word. Vievâmitra, on the other hand, was of Kshatriya origin, and as the fact of his officiating as a purohita, and of his being the rishi of an important part of the Rig-Veda, was in open contradiction to the later brahmanical doctrines, according to which only Brahmans could be priests, the latter, unable to explain away the facts entirely, repre-

sented him as having at last obtained Brahmanhood by the most rigid austerities. The legends in the Mahâbhârata and Râmâyana referring to the hostility between the two rivals vary in many respects, and almost all of them contain fabulous accounts, as, for instance, both Vasishtha and Vievâmitra are represented as having lived during many centuries and worked the most incredible miracles. In order to give an idea of the purely fictitious character of these tales, it will be sufficient to present a condensed statement from the Râmâyana:—

"After Vievâmitra had been practicing austerities for a thousand years, the gods conferred on him, as a reward, the rank of a rishi. Not content with this dignity, he entered upon a new career of penance, which, however, was interrupted by the charms of a nymph, with whom he lived for ten years, and thus forfeited the recompense for his austerities. He left the place of his disappointment and went to other regions, where he continued his asceticism for a thousand years, at the end of which period the gods allotted to him the title of 'Great Rishi,' (maharshi.) But he had not yet attained the goal of his ambition, and devoted himself to a new course of the most rigid austerities: as standing with his arms stretched out, feeding on air, exposed in summer to the heat of the sun overhead, and to four fires, one on each of four sides, while he remained unsheltered from the rain during the wet season. These practices of self-torture lasted for a thousand years. Finally the gods became greatly alarmed at the progress of his devotion and at the power he thereby attained. They tried a stratagem that had succeeded before, and sent a nymph to his hermitage; but this time he was not misled by female witchery. Suspecting the plan of the gods, he cursed the maiden—caused her to be turned into stone and to remain in that condition for a thousand years. Yet, although he had thus escaped the enticements of sensual love, he had fallen into another error, namely, that of yielding to anger. Thus he had to recommence the whole work again, and at last, after hundreds of years, which he passed in silence without even breathing, the title of 'Brahman Rishi' (brahmarshi) was conferred on him."

The object the Brahmans had in view in inventing these myths was no other than to show how difficult it would be for any one not of the priestly order to attain Brahmanhood, and

that Vievâmitra even obtained the coveted honor, not by any warlike exploits as proper to a Kshatriya, but by mere brahmanical practices.

There is little doubt that the kings and nobles often abused their power against the mass of the people, and at times it may have been for the welfare of the community at large when the heavy scepter of the rajahs had to bend before the mightier hand of the Brahmans. Yet, after the strife between the two higher classes was ended, priests and kings and nobles were united, as in Europe, to keep the remaining portion of the population in a decidedly subordinate position. We have seen that the third caste was called that of the Vaiçyas, a word derived from viç, "people," and originally applied to the whole Hindu community. Viçpati, or ruler of the people, was a common designation for a king, corresponding to Lithuanian wiêszpatis and old Persian viçpaiti. The use of viçvaiçyas as a proper name is analogous to that of Gothic "thiudisk," old high German "diutisk," from which Deutsch is derived. The Vaiçyas, then, after the introduction of the caste system, constituted the mass of the Aryan population, the people at large. Although greatly inferior to the Kshatriyas, and still more so to the Brahmans, they were far above the Çûdras, the fourth caste. The latter were the descendants of such of the native tribes who had possessed the soil of India before the coming of the Hindus, and had preferred to accept the lowest position in the community rather than retire before the conquerors into the mountains and forests, as some of their more independent and warlike countrymen had chosen to do. As disgraceful as the condition of the Çûdras was, and as inferior as their civilization proved to be to that of their masters, yet they would be admitted in some way as members of the Hindu community —in striking contrast to the fate of the North American Indians, whose condition presents, in other respects, some analogy to that of the aboriginal tribes of India. However marked the lines were that separated the three upper castes from each other, there was a much broader distinction between them and the Çûdras. Indeed, the fact of the former being the conquerors and the latter the conquered party, in connection with the difference of language, would have been quite sufficient to establish the first and most natural division into two distinct

branches. We have only to think of the position of the Celts in England after the Anglo-Saxons had become masters of the country, and of the relations that existed between these and the Norman conquerors even long after the battle of Hastings. In the case of the Hindus and the native tribes of India, there was, besides the relation of victor and vanquished, besides the difference of language, of social and religious customs, also another marked distinction, namely, that of valor. Although there are several terms for caste in Sanscrit, the real name is "varna," a word denoting, originally, "color;" and thus the separation of the fair-complexioned Hindus from the dark native races seems to have been based at first chiefly on the distinction of color. The term "varna" was then afterward employed in the larger sense of caste not only to mark the division between the aboriginal tribes and their masters, but also to denote the different classes within the narrow circle of the Hindu community proper. The latter were called the "twice-born," and wore the "sacred thread," the symbol that distinguished them from the Çûdras. The investiture with the thread signified the second birth, and was to take place in the eighth year of a Brahman, the eleventh year of a Kshatriya, and the twelfth year of a Vaiçya. It could on no account be deferred beyond the sixteenth, the twenty-second, and twenty-fourth year respectively, else the youth would become an outcast. The thread of the Brahman was made of cotton, and thrown over the head in three strings; that of the Kshatriya of hemp, or, in more ancient times, of a strip of antelope's skin; the thread of the Vaiçya was made of wool. Another marked distinction was laid down between the three upper castes and the Çûdras in regard to administering oaths: the Brahman swore by his veracity; the Kshatriya by his weapons, his elephant, or horse; the Vaiçya by his property, his gold, grain, or kine; while a Çûdra was obliged to invoke upon his own head the punishment for every possible crime if he should not speak the truth. It is scarcely necessary to add, that marriages between the different castes were discountenanced by the brahmanical lawgivers; yet they did take place nevertheless, and the code of Manu ascribes the great number of mixed castes to the marriages between the four original castes. The very lowest rank in the Hindu community was

held by the Chandâlas, the offspring of the union between a Çûdra and a Brahmani woman. "The Chandâlas," says Manu, x, 51–58, "must live without the town. Their only property must be dogs and asses; their garments must consist of the mantels of dead persons, their dishes must be broken pots, and their ornaments must consist of rusty iron. No one who regards his duties must hold any intercourse with them, and they must marry only among themselves. By day they can wander about for the purposes of work, and be distinguished by the badges of the rajah; and they must carry out the corpse of any one that dies without kindred. They must always be employed to slay such as are condemned by the law to be put to death, and they may take the garments of the slain, their beds and their ornaments."

It is remarkable that a woman was considered to degrade herself much more by a marriage below her station than a man by the union with a maiden of the lower caste. Sufficient evidence of this fact is found when we compare the preceding account of a Chandâla with the following passage from Manu, x, 64: "If the daughter of a Çûdra woman and a Brahman, by marrying a Brahman, gives birth to a daughter who will be likewise married to a Brahman, soon the low family will rise to the highest rank in the seventh generation."

A significant change had also taken place in the morals of the people. Polygamy was the exception in the earlier Vedic age. It had become more and more the rule in later times. In Manu, iii, 12, we read, "It is obligatory for the twice-born to take a wife of their caste for the first marriage; but when they have a desire to marry again, the woman must be chosen according to the natural order of the classes;" and in iii, 13, "A Çûdra ought to have for wife only a Çûdra woman; a Vaiçya can take a consort in the Çûdra caste and in his own; a Kshatriya in the two castes mentioned and in his own; a Brahman in these three castes and in that of the priests." With the luxury, licentiousness, and general demoralization of the Hindu people during the ages subsequent to the first era of Indian antiquity the position of women had necessarily undergone important changes, and the laws of Manu condemned them to a life of seclusion and servitude. Their condition became a most miserable one, and it is certain that a great deal of the deprav-

ity of manners and morals in India was and is caused by the low position to which women were sentenced by the merciless decrees of their sacerdotal lawgivers. While a bright and genial atmosphere pervaded the primeval era of Hindu history, the code of Manu breathes a gloomy and dismal air, saturated with the blasphemous pretensions of the Brahmans to divine honors. The Svayamvara was ignored in the law—the free and chivalrous spirit it supposed would have been irreconcilable with the strict ceremonial of later days. Women were generally then given away without any regard to their likes and dislikes, and became entirely subservient to the other sex. There is only one exception, the so-called Gandhawa marriage, where a maiden's personal freedom and her independence in the disposal of her affections is taken into account. Yet the Gandhawa marriage was regarded with no favorable eye by the law of Manu, and permitted only to Kshatriyas; it was an anomaly, or rather no marriage at all, but simply the union of a couple dictated by mutual inclination and concluded without any ceremony. The so-called Gandhawa marriages prevailed especially during the Vedic era, and without doubt often were the true expression of the idyllic loves of pastoral times. An example of a Gandhawa marriage is found in the tradition of Rajah Dushyanta and the beautiful Cakuntalâ, as related in the Mahâbhârata, and afterward dramatized by Kalidasa under the title of "Cakuntalâ, or the Lost Ring." The fact that the Gandhawa marriage, although by no means recommended in the code of Manu, yet came to be legalized, at least conditionally, would seem to indicate that at the time of the promulgation of the law the Kshatriyas still formed a body of warriors not to be despised, and to whom the Brahmans thought fit to make some concessions. At the same time the Gandhawa mode of marriage may have degenerated, and furnished many an opportunity for the nobles to indulge in lawless amours, an abuse which was sought to be hidden by the exceptional provisions of the law.

There is another instance where a maiden's right to assert her independence in regard to marriage was recognized by Manu, though it was a case that would occur but rarely, namely, only when the father neglected to provide himself a bridegroom for his daughter. We read in ix, 90, "A maiden should

wait three years after she is marriageable, but after this period she may choose a husband of equal caste as herself."

The following quotations from the code will be sufficient to throw light upon the position of women and the relations of the castes to each other. Manu, v, 147–149: "A maiden, a young woman, a matron, must do nothing according to her own pleasure, even in her own house. In childhood a maiden ought to depend on her father, in youth on her husband; her husband being dead, on her sons. If she have no sons, she must be dependent upon the kinsmen of her husband; if he left no kinsmen, on the kinsmen of her father; if she have no paternal kinsmen, on the rajah. A woman must never seek to be independent. She must never try to separate herself from her father, her husband, or her sons, for by such a separation she would expose both her father's family and her husband's family to contempt." Manu, v, 154: "Although the conduct of her husband be blamable, and he indulge in other loves and be devoid of good qualities, a virtuous woman ought to continually revere him as a god. A virtuous woman, who desires to obtain the same abode of happiness as her husband, ought never to do any thing that would displease him, either during his life or after his death. Let her weaken her body voluntarily by living on flowers, roots, and pure fruits; but after having lost her husband, she must not pronounce even the name of another man." Manu, i, 93: "By his origin, which he takes from the noblest member as he is the first-born, as he possesses the Veda, the Brahman is by right the lord of the whole creation." Manu, ix, 319: "Even when the Brahmans indulge in all kinds of base occupations, they must constantly be honored, for they have in them something pre-eminently divine." Manu, ix, 322: "The Kshatriyas cannot prosper without the Brahmans, the Brahmans cannot rise without the Kshatriyas; by co-operation with each other the priestly and military class rise in this world and in the other."

In addition to the passages just quoted many others might be given of a like tenor, all of them indicating that the brahmanical hierarchy, with its castes and their insurmountable barriers, was firmly established at the time of the promulgation of the law. Thus a narrow theocratic despotism had taken the place of the former free Vedic state; the opening scenes of the

latter passed, as we have seen, in the land of the seven rivers at a time when the Sarasvati still flowed into the Indus, long before the triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the doctrine of transmigration, and the system of castes, had been introduced. It was a time when the joyous Svayamvara flourished in its primitive character, and long before the horror of the burning of widows had come into existence, a practice unknown even in the code of Manu.

As the Brahmans appeal in all things to the Veda as the source of their doctrines and customs, they likewise assert that the system of castes is based on Vedic authority. Yet there is absolutely nothing in the earlier hymns of the Rig-Veda which would justify such an assumption, and, therefore, even the Brahmans must admit that the institution of castes can at least not be referred to the highest antiquity of India. Indeed, they might raise the objection that although the earlier portion of the Rig-Veda contains no allusions to castes, the latter may nevertheless have existed at that time; but then the *argumentum a silentio* seems to be fairly applied here, as the whole character of the Vedic age is irreconcilable with the institution of castes. On the other hand, it is true that references to the castes are found in the other portions of the sacred Hindu literature, especially in one of the later hymns of the Rig-Veda, as also in the Atharva-Veda and in the Brâhmanas, or the canonical expositions of the four Vedas, the Rig-Veda, Sámá-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and Atharva-Veda, which all together are comprised under the collective term of "The Veda." Yet the more recent portion of the Rig-Veda and the three other Vedas, with the Brâhmanas, belong to an age subsequent to the first era of Indian antiquity, when either the caste system began to be introduced or was already fully established.

The earliest account of the origin of caste appears in the so-called Purusha Sûhta or the hymn to Purusha, (the supreme spirit,) the ninetieth of the tenth book of the Rig-Veda, belonging to the later portion of that collection. It is related there that the Brahman was the mouth of the deity, the Râjanya (Kshatriya) was made his arms, the Vaiçya his thighs, and the Cûdra sprang from his feet. Apart from the Cûdras, who naturally stood from the beginning in a position inferior to that of the Aryan Hindus, the allegorical language of the hymn simply

refers to the mutual relations of the different classes toward each other; it seems to mark the transition period from the earlier institutions to the approaching introduction of the caste system, and it is certainly still very far from implying those doctrines and customs that have been deduced from it in later times. In the code of Manu the figurative meaning of the hymn is altogether distorted, and the Brahman is set up as the supreme lord of the whole creation. The accounts given by Hindu authors in regard to the origin of caste are, upon the whole, very unsatisfactory. They are mostly mythical and inconsistent with each other, especially in post-vedic works, as the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana, and the Purânas. Some accounts agree with that of the Purusha Sûkta, and are probably borrowed from it; among the rest we notice one passage from the Mahâbhârate as particularly remarkable. It affirms explicitly that there were originally no castes, and that the distinction between the different classes of the community has afterward arisen from differences of character and occupation.

It is not surprising that the change from the earlier Vedic institutions to the later brahmanical hierarchy was accompanied and partly caused by a corresponding transformation of the whole system of worship; in fact, the ancient Vedic gods had gradually lost their hold upon the people, and came to be subordinate to a new dynasty of deities. Thus, although the Brahmans continued to appeal to the Veda as the foundation of their religion, the practical worship of the Hindus had become foreign in character and tenor to that enjoined by Vedic authority. The triad of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva was entirely unknown during the Vedic age. Vishnu is the only one of these three great gods of the later era who was also worshiped in the Rig-Veda, yet the position he held there does not necessarily suggest any thing which would indicate the prominent place he was afterward to occupy. The peculiar trait of Vishnu in the Veda is found in his famous three strides, signifying the rising, culmination, and setting of the sun. It is true there are also hymns in which a higher character is ascribed to him, and from one passage (R. V., vii, 99, 2) we might infer that he was considered the chief of all the gods. Yet there are but few passages where Vishnu is exclusively and particularly wor-

shiped in comparison with the great number of hymns addressed to Indra and other gods, and which ascribe to them likewise the highest attributes. In fact, each individual god was in the imagination of the worshiper for the time being *the* god, the supreme ruler, before whom the other deities disappeared. The process by which Vishnu attained the prominent position he has held in the mind of the Hindus for centuries is not quite clear, while the history of Siva is still more obscure. The artificial link to connect Vishnu and Siva, and in some way to unite the adherents of both, is Brahma, the mere product of later metaphysical speculation.

It is hardly necessary to say that the system of castes became greatly disturbed by the convulsions that agitated the Indian State for centuries. At first it was the rising of Buddhism, the national revolution against brahmanical despotism; then, after the overthrow of the new religion, the revival of Brahmanism; and later, the Mohammedan invasions, which, in connection with the intermarriages between the different castes, greatly modified the ancient order. Thus the division of the people into four castes has long been only theoretical. With the exception of the Brahmans, most of the old pure castes have been extinct for a long time, and at present there are about as many castes as there are different trades and professions.

ART. IV.—THE SYSTEM OF THE WORLD: ITS ORIGIN.[*]

THE persistent efforts of the human mind to interpret the volume of nature is no more to be discouraged than the like persistent effort to discover the meaning of the volume of inspiration. Truths are precious, not because they were found in the one volume or the other, but because they are truths.

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[*] *The System of the World.* Newton.——*The System of the World.* Laplace.——*The Nebular Hypothesis and Modern Genesis.* Rev. S. Parsons, in Methodist Quarterly Review.——*Outlines of Astronomy.* Sir John Herschel.——*Popular Astronomy.* F. Arago.——*Experimental and Theoretical Researches on the Figures of a Liquid Mass withdrawn from the Action of Gravity.* J. Plateau.——*Recent Researches on the Secular Variations of the Planetary Orbits.* John N. Stockwell, in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge.——*Sketches of Creation.* Alexander Winchell, LL.D.

If one truth is more precious than another it must be because of its relation to human conduct as affecting human welfare. Truths of nature and truths of revelation may be submitted alike to this criterion.

Does it matter whether we know that "In the beginning God created the world" or not? If this be a truth it is a fundamental truth. Accepted, it will inevitably give color to every department of human science, making all science theistic. Especially it suggests as a corollary that all things are related to each other according to the plan of the one intelligent Creator. Also, that all laws put upon matter, upon worlds, upon organisms, upon mind, upon intelligent moral agents, are laws having the seal of his *authority*. In the department of moral government it will also follow that law is something more than an established order of antecedence and sequence—something more than the relation of cause and effect; a prescription to be followed by the free volition of a responsible agent. If, on the other hand, it be truth that matter, motion, and force are the eternal trinity, this also is a fundamental truth, and it will give color to all science, making it materialistic and atheistic.

The theory of evolution is advocated with equal zeal by partisans of theistic and atheistic ideas. To the former the divine wisdom is magnified by the conception of evolution. To the latter the conception of evolution is consistent only with the postulate of eternal matter, motion, and force, and the presumption of a divine original is summarily disposed of as a superstition of very low pedigree. Hence, in modern atheistic essays and discourses there is much stress laid on the doctrine of evolution as fundamental truth. These opposite conceptions are well illustrated by the opposite conclusions of the two greatest mathematicians of their respective times. Newton viewed the mechanism of the world and exclaimed, "This most beautiful system of the sun, planets, and comets could only proceed from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful being!" Laplace looked upon the same mechanism and declared, "I have no need of such an hypothesis."

The Nebular Hypothesis.—In the theory of evolution there is necessarily an hypothetical beginning; not, indeed, of matter or of force, but of the evolutionary processes. Matter is sup-

posed to exist in a diffused state throughout the space occupied by the solar system. Existing potentially, according to Mr. Tyndall, *was a single form of energy*, which we know as gravitation, which was "the original form of all the energy in the universe." This original, diffused condition of the matter of the solar system, is a universal assumption. In the first exhibition of it by Laplace it is represented as thus diffused "In consequence of excessive heat." But Helmholtz, desiring to account for the solar heat itself, imagines the matter originally diffused without heat. He then finds an explanation of the origin of heat in the contraction of the mass by gravitation. Herbert Spencer adopts the views of Helmholtz, and invents a reason for the original diffusion of matter in "atomic repulsion," the overcoming of which by gravitation produces heat. It may not be inadmissible to say that no physicist has been able to *diffuse* many kinds of matter without heat, and the atomic repulsion which can do it is unknown to science. But the evolutionists are agreed as to the first step in the process of evolution. It was *contraction* or *condensation*. The next step was rotation of the mass. Then came centrifugal force, the mass became spheroidal. Then a zone was abandoned, or a ring was "thrown off" or "left behind" or "detached." In some way the zone or ring became a planetary mass, etc., etc.

It is, perhaps, best at this point to let the reputed author of the "Nebular Hypothesis" speak for himself, not that his delineation of the hypothesis is more definite or more consistent than that of others, but that we may examine it and see how far it agrees with some representations of it recently made. The following is his language:—

> However arbitrary the system of the planets may be, there exists between them some very remarkable relations, which may throw light on their origin. Considering them with attention, we are astonished to see all the planets move round the sun from west to east, and nearly in the same plane; all the satellites moving round their respective planets in the same direction, and nearly in the same plane, with the planets. Lastly, the sun, the planets, and those satellites in which a motion of rotation has been observed, turn on their own axis, and nearly in the same plane, as their motion of projection. A phenomenon so extraordinary is not the effect of chance; *it indicates a universal cause which has determined all these motions.* . . .

Another phenomenon of the solar system equally remarkable is the small eccentricity of the orbits of the planets and their satellites, while those of comets are much extended. The orbits of the system offer no intermediate shades between a great and small eccentricity. We are here again compelled to acknowledge the effect of a regular cause: chance alone could not have given a form nearly circular to the orbits of all the planets. This cause, then, must also have influenced the great eccentricity of the orbits of comets, and what is very extraordinary, without having any influence on the direction of their motion; for, in observing the orbits of retrograde comets, as being inclined more than 100° to the ecliptic, we find that the mean inclination of the orbits of all the observed comets approaches near to 100°, which would be the case if the bodies had been projected at random. Thus, to investigate the cause of the *primitive motions* of the planets we have given the five following phenomena: First. The motions of planets in the same direction and nearly in the same plane. Second. The motions of their satellites in the same direction and nearly in the same plane with those of the planets. Third. The motion of rotation of these different bodies, and of the sun in the same direction, as their motion of projection, and in planes but little different. Fourth. The small eccentricity of the orbits of the planets and of their satellites. Fifth. The great eccentricity of the orbits of comets, although their inclinations may have been left to chance.

Buffon is the only one whom I have known who, since the discovery of the true system of the world, has endeavored to investigate the origin of the planets and of their satellites. He supposes that a comet, in falling from the sun, may have driven off a torrent of matter which united itself at a distance into various globes, greater or smaller, and more or less distant from the luminary. These globes are the planets and satellites which by their cooling are become opaque and solid. This hypothesis is far from accounting for the preceding phenomena. Let us see if it is possible to arrive at their true cause.

Whatever be its nature, since it has produced or directed the motion of the planets and their satellites, it must have embraced all these bodies; and considering the prodigious distance which separates them, they can only be a fluid of immense extent. To have given in the same direction a motion nearly circular round the sun, this fluid must have surrounded the luminary like an atmosphere. This view, therefore, of planetary motion leaves us to think that, in consequence of excessive heat, the atmosphere of the sun originally extended beyond the orbits of all the planets, and that it has gradually contracted itself to its present limits, which may have taken place from causes similar to those which caused the famous star that suddenly appeared in 1572, in the constellation Cassiopeia, to shine with the most brilliant splendor during many months.

The great eccentricity of the orbits of comets leads to the same

result. It evidently indicates the disappearance of a great number of orbits less eccentric, which indicates an atmosphere extending beyond the perihelion of observable comets, and which in destroying the motion of those which they have traversed in a duration of such extent have reunited themselves to the sun. Thus we see that there can at present only exist such comets as were beyond this limit at that period. And as we can observe only those which in their perihelion approach near the sun, their orbits must be very eccentric; but at the same time it is evident that their inclinations must present the same inequalities *as if the bodies had been sent off at random*, since the solar atmosphere has no influence over their motions. Thus the long period of the revolution of comets, the great eccentricity of their orbits, and the variety of their inclinations, are very naturally explained by this atmosphere.

But how has it determined the motions and revolutions of the planets? If these bodies had penetrated this fluid its resistance would have caused them to fall into the sun. We may then conjecture that they have been formed at the successive bounds of this atmosphere by the condensation of zones, which it must have abandoned in the plane of its equator, and, in becoming cold, have condensed themselves toward the surface of this luminary, as we have seen in the preceding book. One may likewise conjecture that the satellites have been formed in a similar way by the atmosphere of the planets. The five phenomena, explained above, naturally result from this hypothesis, to which the rings of Saturn add an additional degree of probability.

The foregoing quotation contains the whole nebular hypothesis of Laplace. Although there is a degree of indefiniteness in some of his sentences, which leaves us in doubt as to his meaning, yet I think that my readers will agree with me that it contains the following propositions:—

1. The motions of the planetary system indicate "a universal cause."

2. Whatever this cause was, "it must have influenced the great eccentricity of the orbits of comets."

3. The substance of the planets and of the comets alike were originally a part of the solar atmosphere.

4. The comets were projected at random, which was very extraordinary; while the planets were "formed at the successive bounds of this atmosphere by the condensation of zones."

5. Some comets have probably been reunited to the sun.

The theoretical followers of Laplace have presented the hypothesis with clearer definition than the great master himself, and of these I know of none who have excelled Professor

Winchell, author of "Sketches of Creation," "Geology of the Stars," and "Doctrine of Evolution."

In the discussion of the nebular hypothesis in the little volume entitled "The Modern Genesis," I have quoted largely from him, not because I regarded his positions more vulnerable than others, but because, on the whole, I thought he had given the most complete, and the most consistent as well as the most plausible exhibit of the hypothesis; and the confidence with which he announces it as an established doctrine of modern science is well calculated to challenge an opponent. Some strictures upon my treatment of this subject in the "Modern Genesis" have been published. Generally these strictures have borne marks of candor and fairness, which I take great pleasure in acknowledging. Some of them have shown a misapprehension of the meaning of certain of my utterances, for which I am ready to take blame to myself, for I hold that a writer should express his thought so clearly that no person of ordinary intelligence, having a previous knowledge of the general subject on which he writes, need misunderstand him. Not in the spirit of a partisan, but in the interest of truth, I wish to review the general subject, and, incidentally, to review my reviewers.

What is the Nebular Hypothesis?—I understand it be an attempt to account for the origin of the solar system. Not, indeed, an attempt to account for the origin of the material out of which the solar system is built up, but an attempt to explain how, out of an original nebular mass of great tenuity, a system of celestial bodies has been evolved, which system of bodies is known as the solar system.

It immediately becomes a legitimate question, What bodies belong to the solar system? To this question I venture to reply as follows: To the solar system belong the sun, the planets, their satellites, the asteroids, the comets, and the meteoric groups. I have made mention of all these bodies, except the meteoric groups, in the "Modern Genesis," as furnishing legitimate data by which to try the credibility of the nebular hypothesis. I now point to this system as embraced in the empire of the sun. It is a system. It is bound together by a single force. Every member of this system submits itself to the controlling influence of the central body. So far as we

know any thing of any of these bodies we know it as a member of the system, and not otherwise.

No one will, probably, make an issue with me on this subject, except it be in reference to the comets. I said in "Modern Genesis," "We shall hardly make a separate theory for these bodies." I am obliged, upon further reflection, to reaffirm this opinion. Moreover, I understand Laplace himself to affirm that the "universal cause" which accounts for the origin of planets must account for the origin of comets also. I understand him to teach, by implication, that the comets were originally a part of the solar mass, for he speaks of their being "projected at random," "sent off at random," and of some of them as having "reunited themselves to the sun." He refers to the comets to show that "his empire [the sun's] extends beyond the known limits of the planetary system. In his discussion of the invariable plane he remarks: "In this computation we have neglected the comets, which, nevertheless, ought to enter into the determination of the invariable plane, since they make part of the solar system." Again he asks: "In the meantime what are the principal forces which retain the planets, satellites, and comets in their respective orbits?" Again he says, quoting Clairault: "A body which passes into regions so remote, and which escapes our sight during such long intervals, may be subject to the action of forces entirely unknown, as the attraction of other comets, or even of some planet whose distance is too great to be ever visible to us;" but he does not intimate that he *believes* that they ever pass into regions outside the "empire of the sun." Sir Isaac Newton says of the comets, "I am out in my judgment if they are not a sort of planets, revolving in orbits returning into themselves with a perpetual motion." Again he says: "The motions of the comets are exceedingly regular, are governed by the same laws with the motions of the planets." And again: "This beautiful system of the sun, planets, and comets, could only proceed from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful being." It is worthy of remark that the problem with which Newton concludes his "System of the World" relates to the motions of the comet.

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Arago remarks that, "From the time of Tycho Brahé, to whom we owe this first discovery, it has been found that comets revolve around the sun in obedience to regular laws; that they revolve like the planets, but that their orbits are very elongated ellipses. The sun occupies always one of the foci of the elliptic orbit of each comet." "We might be astonished," remarks Laplace, "that Kepler should not have applied the general laws of elliptic motion to comets. But, misled by an ardent imagination, he lost the clue of the analogy which should have conducted him to this great discovery. The comets, according to him, being only meteors engendered in ether, he neglected to study their motions, and thus stopped in the middle of the career which was open to him, abandoning to his successors a part of the glory which he might yet have acquired."

These quotations ought to suffice to show that the opinion that the comets belong to the solar system is no novelty; and I will add that the later discoveries do not indicate that they are not legitimate members of the "solar family." I do not ignore the fact that some astronomers, considering the vastness of some of the cometary orbits, have indulged the fancy that they must be foreign bodies, wandering in the outer spaces, and by chance coming within the influence of solar gravitation. But I have to say that such conceptions are not only not helpful to the progress of true science, but actually injurious to it, because they remand to the region of fancy phenomena which were already the subject of mathematical calculation. In our study of the comets we should not overlook the fact, that the portion of their orbits which can be observed is comparatively small, because of the nature of the cometary mass itself, and not because of its distance from the observer only. Arago remarks that "the comet of Halley, as well before as after each of its apparitions, remains five whole years within the ellipse which Saturn describes, without any trace of its being perceived during this long period."

But Mr. Parsons is surprised that I should treat the comets as members of the solar family. He thinks it "certainly remarkable that the author of the 'Modern Genesis' should use the following language: 'One other class of objects demands our attention. The comets revolve around the sun, and must be recognized as erratic members of the cosmical system; and our inquiry is incomplete if it do not ask, How did they orig-

inate? How were they cast off from the cosmical sphere?' To these questions the nebular hypothesis replies, 'The comets do not belong to the solar system, neither were they derived from it, but are foreigners wandering through space, from sun to sun, and occasionally becoming fellow-citizens with the solar family.'" In reply to this I beg to say I think the foregoing utterance something "remarkable." I can find no place where the "illustrious author of the nebular hypothesis" treats observed comets as "foreigners, wandering through space from sun to sun," but I can point to nearly thirty places where he treats of them as *parts of the solar system*. He expressly says: "It appears, therefore, that comets which have been considered as meteors for many years are of the same nature as planets; their motions and their returns are regulated by the same laws as planetary motions." The great eccentricity of cometary orbits is no reason for pronouncing as Mr. Parsons does, that comets "do not belong to the system, neither were they derived from it." Laplace himself declares that the same cause which "gave a form nearly circular to the orbits of all the planets," "must also have influenced the great eccentricity of the orbits of comets." Mr. Parsons has no right to impute to Laplace the proposition that the comets had "been projected at random from the spaces beyond." Laplace uses the words "projected at random," but not the words "from the spaces beyond." He also uses the words "sent off at random," and, we think, gives us a clue to his belief as to their origin, when he speaks of some as having "reunited themselves to the sun." It is evident that Laplace *did* regard the comets as having been derived from the solar substance, and did not think them meteors "projected from the spaces beyond." It was substantially this conception of their origin that he attributed to Kepler. But if Laplace did not regard comets as "foreigners," etc., do the nebular theorists generally so regard them? I do not understand them so. Professor Winchell speaks of "the filmy comet that sweeps with such indecent haste through the ranks of the dignified sisterhood of the planets," but he does not deny it a place in the family.

Mr. Herbert Spencer marches bravely up to the task of accounting for the origin of comets, assuming that "flocculi" were left behind by the contracting nebula, and that when they got

ready they came dashing in toward the central body with conspicuous impetuosity. It is an aptitude of this author to fancy any behavior of matter to meet an exigency of a theory. He never seeks, however, to avoid the responsibility of meeting the exigency, and never betrays a suspicion that he has failed to meet it. It is true, he does not conceive that the origin of planets and comets can be referred to the operation of the same mechanical forces, nor does Laplace. But herein, it appears to me, both are inconsistent. The policy of ignoring the comets, or of denying them a legitimate membership in the solar family, is a confession of the inadequacy of the hypothesis to account for the origin of the solar system.

Origin of Rotary Motion.—Rotary motion being found every-where in the solar system, its origin is one of the facts to be accounted for by the nebular hypothesis, and the subject is treated in the "Modern Genesis." Mr. Parsons calls attention to an omission to notice the following language of Professor Winchell: "The attractive influences of Sirius, Capella, Vega, and all the other fixed stars, were felt. The cosmical vapor, which might otherwise have been perfectly spherical, became distorted in its form. The position of its center of gravity was changed." I am sure that this statement does by no means account for the origin of rotary motion. Suppose the center of gravity of the primitive solar nebula to be determined by the attractions of the fixed stars, then, unless it can be shown that those stars change their places, the center of gravity would remain fixed in position relatively to all parts of the nebula, and relatively to all the stars. The stars are so distributed that the attractions would be in nearly all directions, and the spherical form could not be much distorted thereby; and if distorted, it could not revolve so long as its distortions were permanent in direction, as they must be if produced by stationary bodies. The assumption that, the center of gravity being changed, the atoms of the mass would descend in lines directed to one side of it and not toward it, is very bald.

But this whole supposition of a change of the center of gravity, the distortion of the spherical form, and the consequent inauguration of rotary motion, appears to me as simply a huge fancy. The great distance of the nearest of the fixed stars precludes the supposition of any sensible effect of their attraction.

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Origin of Rotary Motion.—Rotary motion being found everywhere in the solar system, its origin is one of the facts to be accounted for by the nebular hypothesis, and the subject is treated in the "Modern Genesis." Mr. Parsons calls attention to an omission to notice the following language of Professor Winchell: "The attractive influences of Sirius, Capella, Vega, and all the other fixed stars, were felt. The cosmical vapor, which might otherwise have been perfectly spherical, became distorted in its form. The position of its center of gravity was changed." I am sure that this statement does by no means account for the origin of rotary motion. Suppose the center of gravity of the primitive solar nebula to be determined by the attractions of the fixed stars, then, unless it can be shown that those stars change their places, the center of gravity would remain fixed in position relatively to all parts of the nebula, and relatively to all the stars. The stars are so distributed that the attractions would be in nearly all directions, and the spherical form could not be much distorted thereby; and if distorted, it could not revolve so long as its distortions were permanent in direction, as they must be if produced by stationary bodies. The assumption that, the center of gravity being changed, the atoms of the mass would descend in lines directed to one side of it and not toward it, is very bold.

But this whole supposition of a change of the center of gravity, the distortion of the spherical form, and the consequent inauguration of rotary motion, appears to me as simply a huge fancy. The great distance of the nearest of the fixed stars precludes the supposition of any sensible effect of their attraction.

The power of the internal attractions to produce the spherical form—notwithstanding the presence of an immense external attraction—is illustrated by many objects around us. The molten lead, falling through the air, assumes the spherical form while it obeys the earth's attraction. The condensed vapor forms the spherical rain-drop, which sometimes congeals into hail. The dew-drop hangs from the tip of the leaf a little watery globe; yet the attracting earth is very near it. Look now at the hypothetical nebula, out of which the solar system is to be formed. Suppose it to extend to the distance of the planet Neptune with the center of the sun as its center. The nearest fixed star is about seven thousand times as far from the center of this nebula as its alleged boundary; and, as the attractions vary inversely as the squares of the distances, an atom at the surface of this sphere will be attracted by the mass of the sphere itself forty-nine million times as much as it will be attracted by an equal star-mass at the distance of the nearest fixed star, seven hundred and eighty-four million times as much as by an equal star-mass at the distance of Sirius, and nineteen billion six hundred million times as much as by an equal star-mass at the distance of Capella. Sir Isaac Newton says, "The fixed stars, being such vast distances from each other, can neither attract each other sensibly nor be attracted by the sun;" and I am sure that no one can maintain, and I doubt that any one will soberly allege as a fact, that the stellar attractions account for a single observable phenomenon of the solar system.

Direction of Planetary Motion.—As the motions of the celestial bodies suggested to Laplace the hypothesis of the mechanical evolution of the solar system, so, also, these motions furnish us the means of testing the hypothesis. If there were no laws of motion the suggestion would not have been made, and the test would be impossible. But motion is the one thing in nature which, more than any thing else, illustrates the dominion of law. The direction of motions in the solar system is a legitimate test of the nebular hypothesis, because the hypothesis informs us what must have been the original direction of the motion of every planetary mass, derived mechanically from a revolving parent mass, and the laws of motion require that the planetary masses be now moving in that direction. I have

The power of the internal attractions to produce the spherical form—notwithstanding the presence of an immense external attraction—is illustrated by many objects around us. The molten lead, falling through the air, assumes the spherical form while it obeys the earth's attraction. The condensed vapor forms the spherical rain-drop, which sometimes congeals into hail. The dew-drop hangs from the tip of the leaf a little watery globe; yet the attracting earth is very near it. Look now at the hypothetical nebula, out of which the solar system is to be formed. Suppose it to extend to the distance of the planet Neptune with the sun as its center. The nearest fixed star is about seven thousand times as far from the center of this nebula as its alleged boundary; and, as the attractions vary inversely as the squares of the distances, an atom at the surface of this sphere will be attracted by the mass of the sphere itself forty-nine million times as much as it will be attracted by an equal star-mass at the distance of the nearest fixed star, seven hundred and eighty-four million times as much as by an equal star-mass at the distance of Sirius, and nineteen billion six hundred million times as much as by an equal star-mass at the distance of Capella. Sir Isaac Newton says, "The fixed stars, being such vast distances from each other, can neither attract each other sensibly nor be attracted by the sun;" and I am sure that no one can maintain, and I doubt that any one will soberly allege as a fact, that the stellar attractions account for a single observable phenomenon of the solar system.

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When Laplace says that "We may suppose that the innumerable varieties which must necessarily exist in the temperatures and density of different parts of these great masses ought to produce the eccentricities of their orbits and the deviations of their motions from the plane of this equator" he recognizes the fact that "the eccentricities of orbits" and "the deviation from the plane of this equator" are facts in the existing solar system to be accounted for. Had he considered certain principles elsewhere set forth by himself he would not have offered this supposition. But he was by no means satisfied that it really accounted for "the deviation from the plane of this equator," for he presented another supposition. "If any

comets have fallen on the planets, their fall has caused the planes of the orbits and of the equators to deviate from the plane of the solar equator." Thus he indicates that these planes—that is, the orbital and equatorial—of *all* the planets must have been originally coincident with the plane of the solar equator. Now, they deviate. What has caused the deviation? In the true temper of a theorist, forgetful of his mathematical powers, he says, "If any comets have fallen on the planets," etc. It was the mathematician and observer in his sober mood who had previously said, "The action of comets upon the solar system has been hitherto insensible, which seems to indicate that their masses are inconsiderable." In the light of later observations it is scarcely too much to say that a comet *might* strike a planet and produce no sensible deviation from its plane. We know that the comet of 1770 was twice within the system of Jupiter's satellites without producing the slightest perceptible effect upon their movements. The insufficiency of these suppositions to account for the inclinations of orbital planes must be apparent, and I now call attention to the stellar attractions.

Mr. Parson says, "In answer to Mr. Slaughter's question, 'Will any one aver as a fact that stellar attraction affects the motions of a planet so as to change the plane of its orbit?' Mr. Winchell would reply by pointing to Sirius, Capella, and Vega, 'hanging on the verge of the firmament, exerting their attractive influences on the solar system in its earliest infancy.'" In reply to this I may express my regret that Mr. Parsons did not see fit to commit himself instead of Winchell to the assertion of actual, effective stellar attractions. I do not think that Mr. Winchell would seriously maintain that stellar attractions account for the change which, according to the nebular hypothesis, has taken place in the planes of the orbits of all the planets.

There remain to be considered the *planetary* attractions. I am indebted to Mr. Parsons for the correction of an error in my statement of the *amount* of inclination of planetary orbits, which occurred exactly as he conjectured, by neglecting a simple rule. I thank him for the correction. I am surprised, however, to find in his review the following language: "The author of the 'Modern Genesis,' in dealing with the subject of

'direction of planetary motions,' has entirely ignored the very important bearing of 'planetary perturbations' on this question." Can it be possible that Mr. Parsons overlooked the following language which was used by "the author of 'the Modern Genesis'": "*All planetary perturbations*, then, must arise from *planetary attractions.* But if the nebular theory be true, there can never arise such a collocation of the planetary masses as would give rise to orbital inclinations." "If the nebular theory be dismissed, and we conceive of a planetary system in which, from the first, there is axial motion in different planes, and orbital motion in different planes, then we can see how there may arise changes of motion," etc.

Planetary perturbations are not ignored. They are carefully considered, and the conclusion is that they do not account for the change of orbits from the invariable, *original* plane of their motion. As the solar system *is*, there are periodic and secular variations, which have their limitations, so that the stability of the system is assured; but I am obliged, after further reflection, to reaffirm the opinion that the nebular hypothesis being granted, we can conceive of no collocation of the planetary masses which could give rise to orbital inclinations. Let us imagine a system in the process of formation under our observation. The first ring is "abandoned in the plane of the equator." We see it broken up and assembled into a planetary mass, and it is moving in the original plane. Now we have one planet—only one—and it is subject to the attraction of the parent body. The direction of this attraction is that of a line drawn from the center of the parent body to the center of the planetary body, and that line is in the equatorial plane. There are no outside attractions to move it out of this plane. There are no planetary perturbations. But the process goes on, and by and by another planetary mass is "abandoned in the plane of the equator." Now there are two planetary bodies, and planetary perturbations will arise, but these perturbations will all be in this same plane. But the process goes on, and a third planetary mass is "abandoned in the plane of the equator." Now the perturbations may become more complicated, but still, *all* these bodies being in one plane, the perturbations are in one plane. *And so must it continue to be to the end.* The assumed conditions of the case—conditions assumed by the nebu-

lar hypothesis—necessitate the conclusion that the planetary perturbations known to exist in the solar system could never arise, and the fact that they have arisen is a demonstration of the falsity of the hypothesis. To refer to perturbations which are caused by the attractions of planetary bodies *outside* of this plane, as an explanation of the inclination of planetary orbits, is like reasoning in a circle. The perturbations arise out of the inclinations, and the inclinations are accounted for by the perturbations.

Mr. Parsons points to the satellites of Jupiter and says, "The uniformities of the ideal Jovian system, less subject to perturbing influences, in which the orbital planes of the satellites coincide with that of Jupiter's equator, should have admonished Mr. Slaughter of the weakness of his position." I answer, Not so. The Jovian system is the nearest image of the hypothetical solar system known in nature. Like that hypothetical system, it is far removed from attracting bodies. All the attracting bodies belonging to the system itself are in nearly the same plane, and all the perturbations arising out of their mutual attractions are in that plane, and will continue to be. Isolate the Jovian system in space and tell me, What can take the satellites out of that plane? But, according to the nebular hypothesis, the entire solar system has been at some time moving in one plane; and, according to observation, it is now out of it. The uniformities of the Jovian system ought to admonish the nebular hypothetists that any planetary system once started with orbits in one plane, and so isolated that stellar attraction could not move it out of that plane, must move on forever in that plane, unless external force shall turn it aside. Mr. Stockwell's investigations have no bearing whatever on this question of the *original change of the planetary orbits* from the plane in which, according to hypothesis, the planetary masses were successively abandoned. The fact that these *variations* occur in periods—no matter how long—has an important bearing on this discussion. It proves that the *variations* are not the result of accident. Astronomers, seeking their cause, do not find it necessary to imagine differences of density and temperature, or the falling of an occasional comet on a planet; but they find the cause readily in the planetary attractions, which they are able to subject to mathematical

analysis, and thus point out what they have been in the past, and what they will be in the future. Thus the variations themselves aid in determining the invariable plane. But they do not point to the *original departure* from the plane of the sun's equator. That is an assumption which they do not confirm.

Let us now sum up the argument based on orbital inclinations. According to the nebular hypothesis, all planetary motion *began* in one plane—the plane of the equator of the cosmical sphere. This plane is supposed to be identical with that of the sun's equator, because the sun is the residuum of the original mass, and we can imagine no change in the direction of its motion. In the present motions of the bodies which constitute the solar system there are motions in planes inclined to that equatorial plane. This fact stands against the hypothesis unless it can be *shown* that these motions could be changed so as to take those bodies out of this plane. This has not been shown. The effort to eliminate the comets from the solar system, so as to avoid the responsibility of accounting for their origin, is a confession of the weakness of the hypothesis. The meteoric groups and the satellites of the outmost planets are conspicuous examples of retrograde motion, with which the hypothesis cannot be made to agree. .

Actual Velocities.—"In discussing the subject of actual velocities Mr. Slaughter makes two assumptions, neither of which is accepted by the advocates of the nebular hypothesis." So writes my reviewer. The two assumptions attributed to Mr. Slaughter are, that "the periodic times may be said to be the same from age to age," and that "we are justified in the declaration that the present orbital period of each planet must indicate what the axial period of the cosmical mass was at the time the planetary mass was detached." The reader will perceive that the second proposition is the corollary of the first. Is either proposition an assumption of Mr. Slaughter? The phrase "from age to age" is expressive not of definite periods, but of indefinite periods of vast duration. Within these periods it is known that there are secular inequalities which have been made the subject of calculation. But the stability of the solar system is supposed to have been demonstrated by mathematical analysis. Laplace remarks as follows: "The theory of the secular and periodic inequalities of analysis, and thus point out what they have been in the past, and what they will be in the future. Thus the variations themselves aid in determining the invariable plane. But they do not point to the *original departure* from the plane of the sun's equator. That is an assumption which they do not confirm.

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Sir John F. W. Herschell puts the case as follows: "We are, therefore, conducted to this most remarkable and important conclusion, namely, that the major axes of the planetary (and lunar) orbits, and, consequently, also their *mean motions* and *periodic times*, are subject to *none but periodic changes;* that the length of the year, for example, in the lapse of infinite ages, has no preponderating tendency either to increase or diminution." "This theorem, (the *magna charta* of our system,) the discovery of which is due to Lagrange, is justly regarded as the most important, as a single result, of any which have hitherto rewarded the researches of mathematicians in this application of their science."

Arago says: "Euler, although more advanced than Newton in a knowledge of the planetary perturbations, also refused to admit that the solar system is constituted so as to endure forever. At no previous epoch did a physical question of such importance offer itself to the curiosity of mankind. Laplace assailed it with boldness, perseverance, and success. He derived from his masterly analysis this truth, which guarantees the stability of the solar system: the major axis of each orbit, and, consequently, in virtue of the third law of Kepler, *the time of revolution of each planet, is a constant quantity,* or, at any rate, is subject merely to small periodic changes. This important result of analysis, which implies, as a necessary consequence, the *invariability of the mean motions of the planets,*

arises from the circumstance that the eccentricities of the planetary orbits are small, and that their planes are inclined to each other at only inconsiderable angles."

Mr. Stockwell, in his more recent researches, confirms the statements of preceding astronomers on this subject, and says that "the elements of orbits will perpetually oscillate about their mean values." He shows that the tropical year may vary to the extent of 108.40 seconds of time. It "may be shorter than at present by 59.13 seconds, and longer than at present by 49.27 seconds." Thus oscillating about the mean values, "the periodic times may be said to be the same from age to age." Mr. Parsons has done me an unmerited honor in crediting me with this proposition, as if it were something novel, even though branded as an assumption. I did not assume it. I learned it as one of the established truths of astronomical science. Laplace did not assume it. He demonstrated it. Herschel announces it not as an assumption, but as the grandest achievement of mathematical analysis, and calls it the "*magna charta*" of the system. Arago says that Laplace derived this truth from his "masterly analysis," and Stockwell calls it a "magnificent generalization." But Mr. Parsons says it is an assumption, and the advocates of the nebular hypothesis will not accept it, albeit Laplace, who demonstrated it, was the author of the nebular hypothesis. I am provoked, in the best of humor, to retort on my reviewer by a quotation from himself: "There is not wanting evidence" that Mr. Parsons "not only failed to grasp some of the most important principles of natural philosophy lying at the foundation of this subject, but that he neglected to study" the subject of the *permanency of the mean motions of the planets*, "as sketched by the master hand" of the author of the nebular hypothesis. But my reviewer crowns his effort on this subject by declaring that this established truth, this *magna charta* of the system, "is invalidated by the hypothesis of a resisting medium." Henceforth I conclude that demonstration is nothing. Hypothesis is supreme. Surely it is time to make confession. If this is one of "the fundamental principles of natural philosophy lying at the foundation of this subject" I have failed to grasp it, and I suspect that even now it is above my reach. An established truth invalidated by an hypothesis! Nay, I think I shall ad-

here to the theorem, until it is demonstrated that the resisting medium is a fact. If such medium exist, the numerous bodies moving in it will probably exhibit some positive indications of the resistance, which will be in definite ratios with the *volumes*, *masses*, and *velocities* of the bodies. Calculations based on a sufficient number of careful observations of different bodies will conduct us to some definite conclusion. Until then the resisting medium ought not to figure largely in science. In Laplace's time the subject was discussed. Light itself was then supposed to be a fluid, through which the heavenly bodies moved. Laplace supposed it to be subject to gravitation, and, applying his analysis to it, he concluded that a sun might be so massive that its attraction would limit the progress of light within a certain radius. But Laplace rejected the supposition that any other force than gravitation operates to modify the motions of the planets. He asks, "Do any other forces act on the heavenly bodies besides their mutual attractions?" And he answers, "We are unacquainted with any, and we may affirm that their effect is totally insensible. We may be likewise equally certain that these bodies experience no sensible resistance from the fluids through which they pass, as light, the tails of comets, or the zodiacal light."

In the "Modern Genesis" reference is made to this hypothetical resisting medium in another connection. The claim that by it the planetary orbits are diminished and the orbital velocity gradually increased is exhibited. Why, then, it may be asked, was not account taken of this resisting medium in the discussion of the subject of actual velocities? For two reasons. First, because its existence is merely hypothetical, and, in my judgment, is not worthy to be set against the doctrine of the stability of the solar system, which stands on mathematical demonstration. Secondly, because, if the resisting medium be a fact, and its effect be to increase the velocities of the planets, as Professor Thomson, whom I quoted, holds, the fact could not invalidate my argument based on actual velocities. If actual velocities could not detach a peripheral ring less velocities could not do it.

But until it can be shown that *any conceivable* velocity could detach a ring from a rotating *fluid spheroid*, it is scarcely worth while to extend these remarks on actual velocities.

recall attention to the statement made in the "Modern Genesis," namely: "We can conceive of a rotation which would throw *all* the matter out from the center so that the sphere would become a ring." Since making this statement my attention has been called to Plateau's experiment, (which I had represented from memory,) as illustrating this conception. In this experiment, described by Plateau himself, "The liquid sphere first takes rapidly its maximum of flattening, then becomes hollow above and below around the axis of rotation, stretching out continually in an horizontal direction, and, finally abandoning the disc, is *transformed into a perfectly regular ring*." Now this is not a "peripheral ring," but a ring made up of the mass of the rotating substance.

Touching a peripheral ring, I said in the "Modern Genesis": "How the ring was changed into a planetary mass the advocates of the theory do not try to show." "On the contrary," says Mr. Parsons, "Laplace gives the entire *modus operandi* of this change," and he quotes Laplace as follows: "Almost always each ring of vapor ought to be divided into several masses—Saturn's rings being an exception. If one of them was sufficiently powerful to unite successively, by its attractions, all the others about its center, the ring of vapors would be changed into one sole spheroidal mass." This *modus operandi* consists of "almost always," "ought," and "if." Is it not strange that the rings of vapor *ought* to do *any thing*—"*almost always?*" Why not always? They *ought* to do it or they ought not; and if they ought, then it is wondrous strange that the *only* instance in which astronomers have supposed that there are rings is mentioned as an *exception.* It is clear that to sustain the nebular hypothesis rings *ought* to have been formed, and *ought* to have been divided, and some parts *ought* to have been large enough to attract other parts to themselves, and *ought* to have done it. But how all this *could* happen doth not yet appear.

The Relation of Orbital and Rotary Motion.—Mr. Parsons says that "The conclusion resting on the fact that there is no ratio between the two planetary motions depends on the assumption of the invariability of rotary motion. Our remarks on 'Kirkwood's Analogy' will apply to this branch of the subject. Mr. Slaughter has not seen fit to call the attention of his read-

ers to the bearing of this analogy on the subject. There are two causes affecting the length of the day of all the planets possessing free particles. Condensation accelerates rotary motion; tidal friction retards it. The latter cause is most effectual in checking the motions of the planets nearest the sun, and least effectual on the motions of massive planets."

There may be peril in dissent when the subject-matter is a scientific one, and when he who dissents is not a professional scientist. But one must accept the inevitable. I beg to say to my reviewer that "the conclusion resting on the fact that there is no ratio between the two planetary motions" does not necessarily depend on "the invariability of rotary motion." Let it be admitted that the contracting spheroid does experience an acceleration of its rotary motion. Let it also be admitted that a resisting medium does constantly press every planet toward the central body around which it revolves, so that its orbital motion is accelerated. Let it also be admitted that tidal friction retards the axial rotation which contraction accelerates; let all be admitted, and still there must be an ascertainable ratio between the axial and orbital motions of a planet. That the problem would be complicated is true, but I am sure that it is not beyond the reach of analysis.

In the solar system a sufficient number of facts are already known to furnish elements for the calculation. The theory of tidal friction, however, I regard as demonstrably an error. It would be too much to ask that space be allowed here for the demonstration, but I hope at a future time to offer it to the public. It is a sufficient answer to Mr. Parsons at present to say that the tidal brake is only an hypothetical one, and therefore its application to small bodies near the sun and larger bodies remote from the sun is the application of a mere fancy, which a careful comparison of the planets with direct reference to this hypothesis would dissipate. The omission to call attention to Kirkwood's Analogy, and show "its bearings on the subject," will probably be regarded as an innocent omission, since Mr. Parsons himself recognizes Kirkwood's Analogy as a failure.

Acceleration of Rotary Motion.—The inevitability of the acceleration of the rotation of a contracting globe is so important a postulate in the nebular hypothesis that I wish to give

it further consideration. Professor Winchell says: "A rotation once inaugurated in a shrinking globe of matter, it is *demonstrable* that it would continue to be accelerated as long as the mass should continue to contract. In the present case the mass assumed the form of a greatly flattened spheroid, and the velocity of the peripheral portions became so great as to overcome the power of gravity. As a consequence the peripheral portion became detached in the form of a ring—as water is thrown from a rapidly revolving grindstone."—*Sketches of Creation.*

Entertaining profound respect for the writer of the foregoing statement, I must make an issue with him on the proposition that the contraction of a rotating spheroid could accelerate the actual velocity of the peripheral portions of it. The contraction of such a rotating spheroid would accelerate the angular velocity of the rotation. But is there any important difference between the two propositions? There is a very great difference, and—in reference to the nebular hypothesis—a vital difference. The angular velocity of a rotation may be increased without increasing the quantity of motion, that is, the momentum of the body; but the actual velocity cannot be increased without increasing the momentum. If we conceive of all the particles of a rotating body drawn proportionately toward the axis of rotation, we conceive of them as moving in diminishing circles. Moving through equal spaces in equal times, they will describe the lesser circles in less time than the larger circles. Therefore with uniform actual velocity they will exhibit accelerated angular velocity. And this is precisely what must happen when the contraction is proportionate throughout the whole mass, and no external force is applied either to accelerate or retard the motion.

But suppose the contraction to be proportionately greater at the periphery than within the mass, what must follow? Then the outer particles only falling toward the axis of rotation, a portion of their momentum must be expended on the mass, and thus the actual velocity of these particles will be retarded. In this case, also, the acceleration of the angular velocity of the whole spheroid must be less than in the former case. In either case the sum of the actual motions of all the particles of the mass (omitting the motion of contraction) is a constant

quantity, and I submit the following proposition, begging the advocates of the nebular hypothesis to show that it is an error, if it be one: In a contracting, rotating spheroid, actuated by no external force, there can be no acceleration of the actual velocity of the peripheral portions, and there can be no increase of the centrifugal force. This proposition, if true, is fatal to the nebular theory. I think the proposition demonstrable.

It may be thought that the increase of actual velocities found successively in the planets as we pass from Neptune toward the sun illustrates a fact in the contraction of the solar nebula quite the opposite of my proposition. For it is true that each successive planet moves through space with a higher velocity than its immediate predecessor. Neptune has an actual velocity of about 12,500 miles an hour; Uranus, 15,000; Saturn, 21,000; Jupiter, 28,700; Mars, 53,000; Earth, 65,000; Venus, 77,000; Mercury, 105,000. Does not this show that the parent spheroid had given to the peripheral portions increasing actual velocity? My reply is, Go on. Examine the present actual velocity of the peripheral portions of the parent spheroid, the sun. Hypothetically it has continued to shrink until now. Mr. Winchell says it is demonstrable that so long as it continues to shrink the velocity of its peripheral portions will continue to be accelerated. It has contracted about 34,000,000 miles of its radius. It must have reached a very high velocity, for it has contracted into a very small volume, and the tidal friction caused by the smaller planets nearest to it cannot greatly hinder its rotation. Behold! The peripheral portions of this body are moving at the rate of about ten thousand miles an hour. From one hundred and five thousand to ten thousand is not a very rapid acceleration. And the same thing is found in the Saturnian and Jovian systems. The satellites of Saturn exhibit, successively, a higher velocity, ranging from 8,000 an hour in the most distant to 33,000 miles an hour in the nearest, but Saturn itself has an equatorial velocity of only 21,000. The satellites of Jupiter exhibit velocities ranging from 19,000 miles an hour to 40,000, but the peripheral portions of Jupiter have a velocity of only 28,000.

What is the explanation of these facts in the system of the world? Based on the postulates of the nebular hypothesis I know of none. Reflecting that these orbital velocities are ex-

actly what are required to maintain these bodies in their respective orbits and produce the stability of the system ; reflecting that the eccentricities and the inclination of the orbits all have some relation to the same end; we may conclude that this system of the world must be the production of a being whose wisdom and power are illustrated in its constitution. Thus to us "the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament showeth his handiwork." Devotion may be kindled by the contemplation of his works, and we may rest in the assurance that He who, moment by moment, directs the movements of mighty globes, does not forget the meanest of his creatures. While we employ no theological argument against the nebular hypothesis, we are conducted by the consideration of scientific dáta alone to a theological conclusion which is full of comfort.

ART. V.—THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE BIBLE.

SYLLABUS.

Preliminary

1. Things assumed—
   (1.) The genuineness of the sacred books.
   (2.) The authenticity of the sacred books.
2. Elements which must be eliminated—
   (1.) All additions to the *text*, such as the Masoretic punctuation of the Hebrew, (sixth to tenth centuries,) Greek breathings and accents (seventh and eighth centuries,) Greek punctuation, (complete in the ninth century,) etc.
   (2.) All additions to the *subject-matter*, such as the titles of books, (those of the Pentateuch are later than 285 B. C., those of the Gospels and Epistles took their present form probably in the second century A. D., while of the others the date is more uncertain,) the subscriptions to the Pauline Epistles, (fifth century,) and the titles of the Psalms. (Possibly some of these are original; certainly they are older than the Septuagint, 285 B. C.)

(3.) All modifications by way of *division* and *arrangement.* Among these are the Parshioth of the Pentateuch, (greater, earlier than the second century, lesser, fourth century;) the Haphtaroth of the prophets, (of uncertain date;) the Ammonean sections of the Gospels, substantially preserved in our modern paragraphs, (third century;) the chapter-division (1248 A. D.;) and the verse-division. (New Testament, 1551 A. D.—Old Testament, made by the Masoretic punctuation mentioned above.) The most important issue involved in *arrangement* is in the position assigned to the book of Hebrews, which in the catalogues of the Eastern Church follows Thessalonians, but in those of the Western Church comes after Philemon. This difference of arrangement is an evident indication of difference of view as to its Pauline authorship.

A. *The Fact.*

1. General course of proof.

(1.) Christ is divine. This is shown—

a. By his relation to Old Testament prophecy.

b. By his strange and unique career.

c. By the unaccountable originality of his sayings.

d. By the absolute perfection of his character.

e. By his miracles.

f. By his unmistakable assumption of divine prerogatives.

(2.) Hence Christianity is divine, for it is simply an expansion of Christ's life.

a. Christianity developed, which is the New Testament religion—

(*a.*) In its principles.

(*b.*) In its organs, which are eminently the sacred books and the sacred offices.

(*c.*) In its work.

b. Christianity germinant — The Old Testament religion—

(*a.*) In its origin.

(*b.*) In its manifestations.

(*c.*) In its end or outcome—The incarnation of Christ.

2. Particular proofs of the divinity of the Scriptures.

(1.) The writers of Scripture were inspired. These were—

a. Prophets. From these we have the Old Testament, which is, as a whole, essentially prophetic, and, in considerable part, formally so.

(*a.*) The inspiration of these men is everywhere claimed in the Old Testament. Isa. i, 1, 2; Ezek. i, 3; Hos. i, 1, etc.

(*b.*) And is borne witness to in the New Testament. 2 Peter i, 21; Acts i, 16; 1 Peter i, 10–12; Acts xxviii, 25, etc.

b. Apostles. From these we have the New Testament, which is essentially apostolic in its function — a body of apostolic testimony and teaching.

(*a.*) To them inspiration was promised. Matt. x, 19, 20; John xiv, 26, etc.

(*b.*) By them claimed or assumed. 1 Cor. ii, 13; xiv, 37; 1 Thess. ii, 13, etc.

(2.) The phenomena of Scripture prove its inspiration. Among these phenomena are its predictions of future and contingent events, its supernatural revelations, and its wondrous power of searching the heart.

(3.) Our Lord and his apostles recognize the inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures. Matt. xxii, 43; Mark xii, 36; Acts xxviii, 25; John xii, 41; Heb. ix, 8, etc.

(4.) Scripture makes this direct claim for itself—

a. By the terms employed, such as "*the* Scripture." Matt. xxii, 29; Mark xiv, 49; Rom. iv, 3, etc. "*Holy* Scriptures." Rom. i, 2; 2 Tim. iii, 15, etc.

b. By the term Scripture used as synonymous with its divine Author. Gal. iii, 8; Gen. xii, 1–3; Romans ix, 17; Exod. ix, 16; Heb. iii, 7; Psa. xcv, 7.

c. By direct assertion. 2 Tim. iii, 16; 2 Peter i, 21; iii, 16.

(5.) This was the uniform faith of the early Church. See Lee on "Inspiration," Appendix G.; or Westcott's "Introduction to the Gospels," Appendix B.

3. Objections.

(1.) Inspiration is not necessary to account for much of the Bible. Take, for instance, the historical books. Their human authors were competent to write them without supernatural aid; indeed, we are accustomed to rest the claims of the Bible to authenticity on this very assumption. If, then, they belong to the domain of man, why ascribe them to God?

a. But who is competent to say that inspiration was unnecessary here? May it not be that to write the histories of the Bible, *with their proper adjustments*, required divine aid as much as to write prophecy itself?

b. The histories of the Bible are fundamental. Every thing rests upon them, or is an outgrowth from them. To leave out inspiration here and bring it in in prophecy or psalm, is to place the greater below the less. The grandest phenomenon in all literature is these same historical books, especially the gospels.

c. This view is opposed to the explicit statement of Scripture concerning itself. The external testimony to the inspiration of these books is as perfect as to that of any portion of Scripture.

(2.) Many things in the Bible are too trivial to comport with the dignity of inspiration. For example, Paul's mention of his cloak and parchments, his advice to Timothy about drinking wine, his personal salutations, etc.

a. But things are trivial or important often, not because of what they are in themselves, but because of their relations.

b. If any human trait or feature is in place in the Bible, why not these? The summit of the loftiest mountain is no nearer the overarching firmament than the common level of the world.

c. Such matters as these are but the fine lines of the perfect picture. As it is important to see how Christianity does not efface or destroy the nobler and more commanding traits of humanity, so it is important to see that it destroys nothing.

(3.) In some cases inspiration is expressly disclaimed. See 1 Cor. vii, 10, 12, 25. So far from this being true, the reverse is plainly implied. The chapter clearly reveals to us the consciousness of Paul as one in whom inspiration, and so authority, resided. Three cases are stated:—

a. That in verse 10, which, he says, "the Lord"—the Lord Jesus, as in Matt. xix, 5—had decided, namely, that those who are married should not forsake one another. This, the old religion and the authority of the master alike had settled.

b. That in verse 12—the case of the parties being unlike in their religion—a case in which the old religion allowed separation. Ezra x, 3. Paul reverses this and forbids it.

c. That in verse 25, in which Paul says religion has no command to give. It is in the present state of things inexpedient to contract marriage. Hence he gives advice, but not command.

(4.) Some books mentioned in the Bible are lost, and so we have no assurance of a complete revelation. See Num. xxi, 14; 2 Sam. i, 18; 2 Chron. ix, 29; xxxv, 25; 1 Kings xi, 41; 2 Kings xxiv, 5; Luke i, 1; Col. iv, 16. But—

a. There is reason to think that the "Epistle from Laodicea," mentioned in Col. iv, 16, may be that commonly known as the Epistle to the Ephesians.

b. Even if we could know—as we do not—that some of these "lost books" were inspired, it would not follow that our present canon is mutilated or imperfect. For many prophets had a mission to their own age alone; others, as Jonah

and Jeremiah, partially so. Even the words and acts of the divine Christ were most of them confined to his own age, and are to us practically lost. Hence the fact alleged, even if true, is not out of harmony with God's method of procedure in other and more important regards.

(5.) But the Scriptures contain mistakes and errors. There are *contradictions;* for instance, as to the time of the crucifixion—Mark xv, 25; John xix, 14–18; as to the time of the Israelite bondage—Gen. xv, 13; Exod. xii, 40; Gal. iii, 17; as to the manner of Judas's death—Matt. xxvii, 5; Acts i, 18, etc. There are *errors in the historical statements* of Scripture; for instance, in John iv, 5, in the name of the place where Jacob's well was; in Luke ii, 1, as to the taxing of Cyrenius; and in Acts xiii, 7, in the mention of Sergius Paulus as proconsul and not *proprætor*. As examples of *errors of citation*, take Matt. ii, 22; xxvii, 9; Mark i, 2; 1 Cor. ii, 9; Heb. ii, 7. *Errors of opinion* are reflected in the sacred volume as to the time of the second advent—1 Thess. iv, 15, etc.; as to demoniacal possessions, as to the influence of angels—John v, 4, etc.

This is not the place to enter upon a minute examination of these difficulties one by one. They are here set down as among the strongest and most important of the specifications under this general head. Several of them have been completely removed by fuller investigation; in other instances the difficulty admits of probable solution, and in no instance is there demonstrable contradiction of error. It may be confidently affirmed that the whole tendency of scholarly research and progress has been to clear up or modify these difficulties, and not to increase and intensify them. That a book so complicated in its structure, and exhibiting such variety in authorship, style, subject-matter, time and place, and which has been for so many centuries in the very focus of scholarly criticism, should maintain such a profound and pervading unity, is of itself a God-announcing miracle.

B. *The Mode.*

1. Inspiration defined.

That extraordinary divine influence under which the books of Scripture were originated.

a. It differs from all forms of merely human inspiration. The mere pouring forth the resources of one's own nature, under whatever conditions, is not inspiration at all. To apply the term to the excitement of the orator, or the elevation of the poet, is to use it figuratively and not literally.

b. From that common influence of the Spirit which is vouchsafed to all good men. This influence is always in the direction of *normal* humanity. It proposes to bring back humanity to the normal standard; it never looks to transcending it. Hence, the more richly this influence is enjoyed the more purely and exactly human the subject of it will be.

c. From that special influence of the Spirit which is given to sacred offices and sacred exercises. Such, for instance, as is implied in the ordination services of nearly all Christian denominations, and, among Methodists and Episcopalians, is assumed and invoked in the *Veni, Creator Spiritus.* This, again, looks only to restoring to humanity its lost perfection, not to enlarging the original idea of humanity. The influence of the Spirit on the minister looks to precisely the same end as the influence of the Spirit on the private Christian—the salvation of individual man and of humanity.

d. It is best illustrated by the inspiration which resided in prophets and apostles; indeed, in a very important sense, it is identical with it. The Scriptures are the permanent product of prophetical and apostolical inspiration. Looking at this subject, then, in the light of these illustrations of it, we see, 1. That inspiration did not extinguish human traits; 2. Nor arrest or suspend human agency; but, 3. It made results possible that could come only from God.

2. Theories of inspiration.

(1.) As to extent.

a. The theory of partial inspiration. According to this only certain portions of the Bible rise into the realm of inspiration, while the great body of it is simply human, and is in nothing distinguished from the ordinary productions of men. But—

(*a.*) This theory assumes an unwarrantable and unreal distinction in Scripture. It destroys a unity which is attested by every proof that bears upon the subject.

(*b.*) It conflicts with the very definite testimony of Scripture respecting itself: "All Scripture," etc.

(*c.*) It does not truthfully reflect the consciousness of the Church, especially the early Church, on this subject.

(*d.*) This theory is damaging to the Bible as a rule of faith—a standard of appeal. If this be true, the ultimate standard is not in the divine word at all, but in the human reason. It is one type, and, indeed, a very common type, of rationalism.

b. The theory of degrees of inspiration; as, for instance, revelation, superintendence, approval. Some things in the Bible could be known only as revealed, and, hence, must have come directly from God. This is the highest degree of inspiration. Other things were fully within the knowledge of men; all they needed was divine superintendence in selecting, arranging, and recording. This is the second degree. Still other material may have previously existed in a written form, perhaps prepared originally for merely secular uses, and has been incorporated into the sacred record by men under the divine guidance, and thus stamped with the divine approval. This is a third and the lowest degree of inspiration. Upon this theory we remark:—

(*a.*) This may be accepted as a probable statement of the manner in which the books of Scripture were originated.

(*b.*) This theory assumes unwarrantably that there *can* be degrees of inspiration. God's authority is absolute. It does not admit of degrees. Every thing upon which God places his seal is of perfect authority by whatever method produced.

(*c.*) This view has no support whatever from the evidence upon which we depend to establish the fact of inspiration. On the contrary, it is quite irreconcilable with it.

c. The theory of plenary inspiration. This involves two particulars: 1. That the *whole* Bible is inspired; and, 2. That it is *equally* inspired. It is also implied that there is inspiration in the language as well as the subject-matter, for we are considering not a system of truth merely, but a book in which that truth has come out into expression. Language is as essential a part of a book as thought.

The first of the above propositions—that the *whole* Bible is inspired—is supported by all considerations, such as those mentioned above which bear against partial inspiration; the second—that it is *equally* inspired—is supported by every objection to the theory of degrees of inspiration.

(2.) As to mode.

a. The rationalistic theory. This is, that inspiration comes from within—that it is simply human nature coming up to its divinest height. Humanity is an ascending scale from the animal to the angel. As a man rises above the ine of average level—as the spiritual in him predominates over the animal—he becomes inspired.

(*a.*) This is not inspiration in any legitimate sense. Hence it stands opposed by all proofs

that indicate divinity, and so authority, in the Scriptures.

(*b.*) Such a Bible would not meet our want as a book of religion, for religion proposes nothing less than a *rebinding* of the soul to God. It seeks to establish again relations that have been sundered by sin. Now, in order to this, there must be a laying hold of both God and man. And nothing can be a book of religion which is not divine as well as human. To be a conduit of the divine life into humanity it must be joined to God as well as man.

(*c.*) Such a book would be out of harmony with the system of religion which it purports to reveal. Christ is divine; religion is divine. To this a merely human book would not be an adequate witness.

b. The mechanical theory. This is the theory of verbal dictation. The sacred writers were pens moved by the divine Spirit, and so held to the writing a merely instrumental relation. They are in no sense authors — sources from which these writings proceeded — but merely amanuenses.

(*a.*) This theory leaves the human phenomena of the Bible entirely unaccounted for. The Bible is the most intensely and broadly human of any book ever written. It contains every legitimate evidence of human authorship, and this fact is one of the chief elements of its value. Because we see reflected in this mirror not only the perfect image of God—his infallible wisdom, his irresistible will, and his unchanging love—but also the mind and the heart, the trials and the triumphs, of individual men, the Bible comes home to us not merely as an influence from without, but as a power that intrenches itself in our very nature.

"But," it is asked, "is any thing too hard for God? Could *he* not produce these human phenomena, as they are called? Could not the Holy Spirit write in the style of Isaiah, or David, or John, or Paul?" We answer, There is no physical if there be no *moral* obstacle. God has the *power* to make me believe that I come into warm and inspiring contact with the individuality of Paul, and that I read his own voluntary giving out of his experience even when this is not at all the case, if he be not *morally incapable* of such a proceeding. So men once asked, "Could not God have made the rocks with all their stratifications and petrifications? Why bring in second causes and indefinite time into your infidel cosmogony when God could have produced the whole in one moment by the word of his mouth?" Who does not see that these two questions are similar, and that either one of them strikes at the very foundations of faith?

(*b*.) This theory takes from the Bible one main element of its value. Much of the zest with which I read it depends upon my sense of personal contact with its human authors; hence if this is a delusion, I have a sense not only of disappointment but of injury. I flee from this splendid temple, with its awful deity and consuming fire, because I find here no officiating priest of like passions with myself.

(*c*.) This theory gives us a Bible unsuited to human want. In this respect it is like the theory already considered, though at the opposite extreme. The former rears a ladder from the earth, but its top does not reach the heavens; this lets down a ladder from the skies, but its foot does not rest

upon the earth. In neither case is there a communication established between earth and heaven.

(*d.*) And, finally, it may be helpful to note that this theory is in its nature *Calvinistic.* It is an application of the Augustinian theory of religion to the matter of the Bible.

c. The Dynamic theory. According to this, the writer is dealt with not as a *forceless instrument*, but as a *living agent;* not as a *thing*, but as a *man.* He is not stripped of his essential prerogatives and reduced to the lowest level of being, but continues in the full exercise of his human faculties; while God so joins himself to him, so pervades him with his Spirit, that the writing is of human and divine origin.

(*a.*) This theory is in harmony with the facts. One class of these facts are human phenomena, another class are divine phenomena. As, therefore, there are both humanity and divinity in the product, there must be both in the producer.

(*b.*) It is in harmony with the great truths of religion—a divine-human Christ, and a personal experience in which the divine life and the human blend in sweet and blessed unity.

(*c.*) This fits the Bible to be a book of *religion.* It is related to man, and also to God.

(*d.*) But it is in its nature a mystery. And so is Christ, so is religion, so are all divine-human phenomena.

ART. VI.—SCHOEBERLEIN ON THE RESURRECTION BODY.*

THE Church dare not ignore the momentous questions which are being raised by modern materialism. She must seriously prepare to meet them frankly and squarely in the face, for they involve the very foundations of faith and of morals. Of course, the Church has nothing to do with mere empirical physics; but it is her very imperative duty to watch over the ontological inferences which are offered as resulting therefrom, and to test these inferences by the central principles that underlie the whole Word of God. The errors of materialism cannot be refuted by a bald, one-sided Christian spiritualism, with its unconciliated antitheses between God and creation, spirit and nature. We can rise to clearness of vision only by admitting the *modicum* of truth that is contained in materialism, and by therewith supplementing the deficiencies of our traditional spiritualism. That is, we must come to the standpoint of an *ideal realism*, which holds the middle path between a materialistic deification of nature, on the one hand, and a spiritualistic contempt of it, on the other; and which finds in a higher sphere the real unity-bond between God and the world, and between spirit and nature. Now, precisely this is the stand-point of the Holy Scriptures; and for the task of complementing our too bald spiritualism, the Scriptures afford abundant help. To this task we here humbly undertake to contribute our mite. We premise only that in every position we shall take, our conscious purpose will be, not to speculate without authority, but simply to educe into fuller expression that which appears to us as clearly involved in the Word of inspiration itself.

When God created the world he created it as heaven

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and earth; that is, as a higher and lower world, the latter developing its forces under the constant animating influence of the former. First, he created the general substance—*matter*. Matter is not a dead mass; it is a vital synthesis of forces. In it lies the germ, the potence, of all creatural objects and beings. Over the bosom of primitive matter hovered, as generating principle, the Spirit of God. By inbreathing into matter the creative ideas of God, the Spirit called forth all individual existences. And as divine love proceeded to fuller and deeper expression, in the same degree there arose creatures of higher and higher endowment. In the inorganic world we find matter and potency undistinguishable. Crystals, for example, are formed simply by the immediate action of the Spirit. It is only in the plant that force rises to some sort of individuality. Here there is a vital unity which attracts to itself homogeneous elements, and thus gives to itself an outer form. Such force is *life;* and such form, an *organism.* At the next higher stage force becomes animal life. Here the central life has sensation, and is able to bring its organism into different relations to the outer world. Such life, or force, we call *soul;* such a sensitive, movable, soul-subservient organism, is a *body.* Body and soul are for each other. The material organism would not become a body if the life in it did not become a soul; and, conversely, the life could not become a soul, except by the help of a homogeneous organism. But at this stage the soul is as yet bound up within the limits of the body; it is simply the unity of the body. Its activity is directed solely to the conservation of the animal; and all animal understanding and volition, so far as they exist, serve the same end. Whatever higher powers may seem to be called forth under human training are but simple reflexes of what does not belong to animal life *per se.*

The solidarity of body and soul is not to be taken as implying that the one is the product of the other. The body does not generate the soul, nor does the soul aggregate around itself the body. The body is formed, by the Spirit, of the primitive matter of creation. Souls are produced by the same Spirit by direct creation. But they are created only on the basis of the material element; hence they are not made and then put into matter, but they are called forth as a higher poten-

tiality of the primitive force of the universe by the action of the Spirit upon matter. And, conversely, matter would never become a body if the Spirit did not posit a soul in matter, which should appropriate from the outer world the materials suitable for its body. Thus the origination of the soul is essentially conditioned by the body, and that of the body by the soul. The formation of the body is not a result of mere chemical affinities between different elements of matter; but it is a vital process; it proceeds from the animate principle. The soul assumes to itself such elements as adequately express objectively its life and its wants. It itself, and not chemical affinities, is the organizing principle. The higher the form of the soul-life, the higher the materials on which it draws for the nutriment of its body. The power of forming to itself a body is an essential quality of the animal soul; when this power ceases the life of the soul is at once obstructed.

In the sphere of mere *nature* the animal life and soul are strictly conditioned by the material body. Here the spiritual and the bodily are unitary and inseparable. Here there is no plastic reaction of the soul upon the body; but the creative ideas of God are brought to direct realization in precise accordance with his intention. Here the dogmas of materialism are relatively correct. The animal soul is conditioned in its outgoings by the instincts of bodily preservation and development. How is it, now, in the sphere of *human* life? In the first place, we find here a similar solidarity of soul and body. Man did not become a living soul by a mere one-sided action of the Spirit, but by the Spirit as acting upon the basis of a corporeity, for which the world of nature furnished the needed materials. The soul formed the vital nucleus by which and from which the formation of the body is plastically conditioned. The human soul is so in need of a body, that in default of a body it would lack an element essential to its well-being; and it would constantly feel an impulse to form for itself an outer material image of its inner essence, an organ for its life. And, conversely, the body is rooted with all the fibers of its being in the soul. Nay, the soul, on its nature-side, bears already within itself the essence, the potentiality, of a body; and it needs only to draw to itself the proper elements from the outer world in order that the germinally extant inner body

actually posit itself as a crude outer body, even as the virtually extant tree, in the ungerminated seed, needs only to unfold its potency in order to become a real tree. Thus the soul of man is essentially a *nature-soul.*

This is further evidenced by our feelings and our experience. If body and soul were not so intimately related, how could we account for that love of the soul to its body which is so universal? And how explain, also, that love to nature in general, which is so characteristic of even the noblest souls! Our souls, in fact, bear the life of nature within them; nay, it is in the soul of man that the life of nature comes to its true culmination. The strength of the inner bond between soul and body is further manifest in certain abnormal phenomena; for the lusts of the flesh, and similar sins, would not be so deeply rooted in us if the body and nature affected the soul only externally. It is really because the lust is seated in the soul itself that the heart and will of the personality find it so difficult to resist the influence of the flesh. But as the soul of man is deeply drawn to nature, so is nature strongly attracted to the soul of man. Man is not a foreign power placed above nature, but he is an essential part of nature's life. All three of the kingdoms of nature are harmoniously blended in his body, and in this body the general matter of nature has attained to its noblest development. Man is properly the very heart of nature, to which all her life-streams flow, and by the pulsations of which she is affected to her outermost periphery. Man is in this essential manner a veritable *microcosm*, a world-image, the synthesis and highest fruitage of the world of nature. It is in the recognition of this, not merely ideal, but real connection of man with nature, that consists the power which materialism exerts sometimes over the noblest of men. And this power cannot be broken by simply denying such connection. It can be broken only by recognizing its truth, and by, also, at the same time, showing the elements in which man transcends nature, by the ignoring of which modern materialism has sunk to the standpoint of an antichristian paganism.

Man is body and soul, nature and life; but he is, also, more: he is body, soul, and spirit. God breathed into man's animate nature the divine Spirit. Thus man stands midway between nature and God. His soul is partaker, on the one hand, of the

realm of nature; on the other, of the Spirit of God. Through him pulsate both the life of nature and the life of God. Being participant of the Spirit of God, he is able to comprehend himself in the sense that God comprehends him, and freely to govern his course in harmony with the divine idea. Man is thus not merely a nature-soul; he is also a spirit-soul. Hence the deep gravitation of the human soul toward the spirit-world, the world of ideas, which is, in fact, essentially inherent in him. Hence the deep tendency of man toward communion with God—with God, whose thoughts he can think, and whose will he should, and can, will. Man is accordingly a *microtheos*, a divine image, on earth—not in an abstract, but in a very concrete manner, seeing that the divine Spirit is substantially implanted in his soul. The soul of man, as participant of the Spirit, becomes a being of a higher kind than nature. As master of itself, it is, also, master of its body, and able to subordinate it to higher ends, to the realization of divine purposes. As master over its body, it is, in a certain degree, independent of the fate of the body. Though the outer materials of the body may perish, the soul perishes not. Being participant of the Spirit, it shares the Spirit's immortality. And does not this lead to a further consequence? As master over the body, will not the soul communicate its own participation in eternal life to its body? And man sustains a like relation to the realm of external nature. Planted in the bosom of nature, man is called, by his mastery over it, to impress his moral ideas upon it, and to subordinate it as an obedient instrument to the fulfillment of his divine calling. As a spirit, man is lord over nature; nay, as the image of God, he is its mediator and priest, to whom it longingly looks for its ultimate transfiguration and deliverance from the bondage of corruption.

Thus we have traced the antithesis in natural things to its highest stage. Appearing in the inorganic realm as force and matter, in the vegetable as life and organism, in the animal as soul and body, it, lastly, appears as spirit and nature. And while, in the lower stages, the unity binding together the antithesis was only ideal, that is, in God; here, in the highest stage, the unity is real, namely, in the soul of man, which is at once both a nature-soul and a spirit-soul. *The soul of man is, thus, the focal point of the world.* In it is reflected and

rooted the collective realms of nature and spirit, inasmuch as it has the capacity both of embracing the world of spirit, and of drawing to itself the quintessence of nature, in the form of a body. In it, as a nature-soul, the kingdom of nature comes to its climax; in it, as a spirit-soul, the kingdom of ideas which God has embodied in nature attains to consciousness. But the soul becomes a true unification of the two realms, nature and spirit, only by the fact that they not merely co-exist in it, but also interpenetrate each other. The body and nature are raised into the sphere of spirit in the fact that the functions of thought and volition are mediated by bodily organs, and that the personality is not only seated in the body, but needs, for fulfillment of its destination, the help of the whole realm of nature. On the other hand, the spirit is so deeply involved in the essence of the body and of nature, that when man develops his spirit he, at the same time, imprints the spirit's seal upon both nature and body. Man's disposition and character are plainly expressed in his body; and the history of art is but a record of how man stamps his thoughts on the face of nature. But this is possible only in that the soul is participant both of spirit and of nature. Man materializes his position as microtheos (image of God) in the same degree that he makes good his position as microcosm (image of the world;) and conversely, he is able to fulfill his task as microcosm only in the degree that he fulfills his mission as microtheos. While a narrow idealistic spiritualism conceives man only as a spirit-soul, with the position of a microtheos, and while an equally narrow realistic materialism conceives him only as a nature-soul, with the position of a microcosm, the ideal-realism of the Scriptures and of the Church does full justice to his common position of microcosm and microtheos, and thus comprehends his life mission in its complete truth.

From this appears at once the error of regarding the body as something evil, or as a penal prison. No; body and soul stand in holy marriage from the beginning. Both arose from the creative will of divine love—the soul in union *with* the body, the body *for* the soul. The soul has its home in the body; by the body the soul has existence and position in this visible world. The body is the casket, the robe, the tabernacle, of the soul. How it dwells in the body—whether at a single point,

and thence exerting its power mechanically—whether as pervading the whole body—whether more fully at the center and less fully toward the periphery—is immaterial. The essential point is that the body is the home of the soul. But it is also a means for commerce with the world, and thereby, also, a means for self-development to the soul. But is the significance of the body exhausted by calling it the *home* and *organ* of the soul? Is this even its primary significance? Spiritualism so imagines. It says: "The body is but a scaffolding, an instrument to the soul. In the next world it may receive another and better instrument, until finally it becomes so perfected as to need no body at all." This view has, among other objections, this, that it so directly conflicts with our natural consciousness. We intinctively bring our body into such close union with our *self* as almost actually to identify the two. And this points, in fact, in the direction of the real truth.

It is not, however, chiefly as an organ for commerce with the material world, but rather for communion of person with person, that the body has its chief significance. And in this moral communion the main element is not merely that we may impart to each other our outward goods, but also, and chiefly, our feelings and thoughts, our spiritual self. We need a body, therefore, as an *organ for personal communion.* And the body actually serves this end, in that it faithfully mirrors outwardly that which the spiritual man thinks, feels, and is, within. It is, in fact, absolutely adapted to this end. Countenance and form are true reflections of the spirit within; limbs and senses aptly express particular powers and functions; uprightness and speech mirror forth our right to dominate over nature, and our capacity for communion with divine reason. Moreover, the body, in its individual differences, gives accurate expression to our individual characteristics, and thereby enables each to impart to others all the delicate traits and treasures that are peculiar to himself. And this adaptation is so intimate and perfect that it cannot reasonably be accounted for on the supposition that the body is simply an external instrument temporarily associated with the soul. The mediation is too direct, too absolute and detailed, for this. Also the peculiar and direct beauty of the body conflicts with such an inference. This beauty is only to be explained on the hypoth-

esis that the body is, *per se*, a revealer, a mirror, of the ideal world within.

The body appears, therefore, not merely as a home and an organ, but also as a mirror, a symbol, an outer image of the soul; and this latter is its highest significance, seeing that it is the means of the highest activity in the kingdom of God, to wit: the communion of personality with personality. And this highest office of the body is simply essentially supplemented by the lower ones, so that we obtain its full significance only when we hold fast in unity to all three of its offices—as home of the soul, as organ of the soul, and as image of the soul. Thus we see the *great worth* of the body for the spiritual life of man. And though we do not deny that there may be some degree of intercourse between souls without the mediation of a body, yet this intercourse must be essentially defective so long as the inner life is not mirrored forth in an outward form. How, in fact, could be possible in this visible world that form of freedom which consists in accepting or rejecting particular objects? Evidently only with the help of a body. But the body is essential to the development of the rational personality itself, for it is only through the body that incipient self-consciousness is enabled to distinguish itself from other objects. It is, in fact, simply by the soul's having in its own body an objectification of itself that it is so easy for it to make its own self an object of study and development. And as the immanence of the divine idea in the soul forms the *ideal* condition of the soul's self-development, so the immanence of the soul in nature, in the body, forms the *realistic* condition. Nor is it merely for the incipiency of self-development that the body is essential; it is essential, also, for its progress, seeing that it is only by the mediation of the body that the soul is kept in the requisite communion with the multitudinousness of the ever-changing relations of the material and spiritual worlds.

But may it not be that this significance of the body holds good only for this life, and that when the soul has risen to full self-development its body will be superfluous? We concede that it will not have precisely the same needs of a body then as now. The soul, having once attained to self-consciousness, will never lose it, even when disembodied. For the soul possesses individuality, not simply because the body gave

bounds to it, and, as it were, prevented it from evaporating into the general substance of the universe; but, on the contrary, it is simply because God posited the soul as personal and individual, that this inner individuality manifests itself under the limitations of a finite body. Hence, also, the supposed bodilessness of a soul in the next life would not essentially affect its personality. Nor will the body be needed in the future state as a means of the soul's moral development; for the soul will already have definitively confirmed itself in its moral destination. But though this element in the body's significancy may be merely transitory, and though a certain form of communion between souls may continue even though the body were destroyed, yet the essence of the body and its great significance remain entirely unaffected; for God has, in fact, destined soul and body to exist in eternal unity with each other. Hence it is that we find Revelation associating the future beatification of man with his soul's union with the resurrection body. Indeed, the very nature of personality calls for this; for in order to the full enjoyment of selfhood, which distinguishes man above other creatures, it is requisite that man be able to bring the ideal fullness of his mind and heart to clear outer expression, which can take place only through a body and through matter. Bodilessness, in fact, implies, *per se*, a hinderance in free self-revelation. The highest perfection, therefore, of the future, no less than of the present life, calls for a corporeity of the soul.

This, of course, presupposes the eternal continuance of external nature. Nature is, indeed, also, not a mere transitory platform for moral development, but it is the normal field for the domination and operation of intelligence. In this world the self-development of man goes hand-in-hand with his plastic shaping of nature; and if at the close of his probation he is withdrawn from his body and from external nature, this can only be regarded as a temporary condition; for when the soul has reached its perfection in God, it will need at once to enter upon a course of untrammeled holy activity, even as God, whose image it is, himself eternally "works;" and to this creatural need of a field for work, the world of nature offers the requisite scope. Thus the perfection of the spiritual activity and bliss of humanity unconditionally presupposes the perpetuity of an external nature-world. And this eternal relation

of the soul to an outer world of nature implies the eternal continuance of the body, inasmuch as it is only through a body that the soul's operation upon nature, and its plastic, idealizing, transforming power over it, is possible. The body appears, therefore, as an integral element of human nature, both in this state of probation and in the future state of eternal perfection.

When God, by his word, called the world of nature into being, and placed man in the midst of the same, he did not create them both in the condition of immediate definitive perfection. He simply posited in individual creatures his creative thoughts as realities. Into these realities he then lodged severally his spiritual conception of each, so that while each creature should *be* the realization of a divine thought, it would also bear in itself this thought as a vital life-power. But this realization of the creature is not its perfection. All creatures are, indeed, by nature an expression of their indwelling idea, and are guided by the same; and, in so far, there is in them no contrariety between idea and reality. But in the very notion of a creature there lies the element of *development.* For herein lies the depth of God's creative love—that while his creative thoughts are directly lodged in his creatures, yet they are to *become* what he intended them to *be*, by the mediation of their own free development. The harmony in which they by nature stand with their own ideal, reaches its goal only in a *higher* harmony which they are to effect by their own pure life; and all the capacities of the creature are simply so many means of reaching this perfection. Thus the primitive harmony of idea and reality, which is at first only a potentiality, is to be exalted into a virtualized actuality.

Now, as the primary harmony of the real with the ideal in created objects springs from the creative Spirit, so this higher harmony, also, can be effected only through the power of the Spirit. And it is only the highest class of creatures—moral creatures—that can accomplish this task by free choice; for it is only in these that the Spirit finds a responsive receptivity for its ideal revelations. Only the spirit-soul, not the nature-soul, can do this, for only the spirit-soul is participant of *the* Spirit. As such it can recognize the divine idea and follow *its* dictation. And, first of all, it is the soul itself that is thus brought into harmony with the Spirit, to wit, by the fact

that in the exercise of freedom it virtualizes its spiritual personality. But as the spirit-soul is at the same time a nature-soul, hence its moral self-determination reacts also upon its nature-phase, and thereby affects the entire body. Thus every feature and power of the body is brought into subservience to the Spirit.

Nor is this reactive influence confined to the body, but it passes over to the whole mass of external nature. Thus the spirit of humanity treats and influences the realm of nature as its own remoter corporeity, shaping it, transforming it, cultivating it, ruling over it.

This influence, which the human spirit exerts upon its own body and upon nature, may be called *spiritualization*. In it man virtualizes one phase of his God-likeness. But there is another and higher phase. Mere self-determination is not an end, but only a means. God gave man self-determining power in order that thereby he might become a means in the realization of the kingdom of God. The divine end is, therefore, reached only by man's subordinating his *formal* God-likeness to this higher end, that is, only by his raising this formal into a vital and actual God-likeness. If he decline to do this, then the spiritualization of his body and of nature is but formal and unreal, for it takes its inspiration not from the ideal world, but from the natural; not from God, but from its merely natural, psychic phase. It is, in fact, not a mere spiritual influence that ennobles and idealizes the body and nature, but, on the contrary, a spiritual influence that is inspired by the divine ideal.

Spiritualization simply is, therefore, not the end of man and nature, but *ideal* spiritualization. Man fulfills his task not merely by virtualizing his free personality, and stamping its traits upon his body and upon nature, but by virtualizing his ideal personality, and thus imprinting upon his body and upon nature the stamp of his own actual God-likeness. Thus he raises himself and nature from a "natural" to a "spiritual," from a psychic to a pneumatic state.

Let us examine more closely the process of this ideal spiritualization. It is effected, as above stated, by man's following, not the will and instinct of his nature-soul, but the divine ideal, the law of the spirit. What, now, are this instinct and

this law? The Spirit is the source of man's life; the soul is the life itself. The soul is the subjective principle in man. It is true, the spirit is that which enables the soul to rise to personality; but the seat of the ego, the personality itself, is the soul. It is in being a soul that man has *selfhood*, that is, the capacity of being conscious of his individuality and of his ability to self-exertion and to self-preservation. But in his spirit, that is, in the immanency of the divine Spirit in him, we meet with a higher element of his nature. It is by the spirit that the idea of his nature and of his destination comes to his personal consciousness. The divine spirit, as innate in man, that is, man's spirit, is the objective principle in human nature. In it man has the ideal for his reality and the source of his true life. By it he becomes conscious that his selfhood is not given to him for mere isolated enjoyment, but that he may, also, subordinate it as a member in the circle of being into which God created him. From this objective factor in man there springs now another, which may be called that of *communion;* that is, the innate tendency of man to live in and with another or others—primarily with the divine source of his being, and through this with the whole realm of creation. For through the indwelling spirit man stands in *natural* union with God, and by the personal appropriation of this union he rises to *moral* communion. This sense of the term "spirit" is very common in Scripture, and especially is the antithesis between the flesh or unideal life of man and his spiritual or ideal life thereby emphasized.

The antithesis of selfhood and communion pervades, also, the whole realm of nature, from the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies among the heavenly orbs to the self-productive and generative instincts of the animal world. But in the impersonal sphere the antithesis comes to unity only in the divine Spirit, as dynamically ruling over nature; whereas in man, the unity is effected personally and freely. In him the sentiment of love to God and to his neighbor is just as deeply rooted as that of selfhood. And in the absolute harmony of the two he finds his true ideal life. Both are good and necessary for the kingdom of God. Neither can exist without the other. The communion can be vital only on the basis of a vigorous selfhood; and the selfhood can be self-harmonious only by com-

munion with God and with the world. But the communion is logically the higher. Selfhood is the *basis* of the personal life, while communion is its *goal.*

It is by man's free choice between these two life-factors that he effects the spiritualization of his body and of nature. If he makes selfhood uppermost, he becomes simply psychic; for selfhood resides in the soul, (*psyche.*) But if he brings his selfhood into vital harmony with its idea, in communion with God and with God's kingdom, he becomes pneumatic, that is, ideally spiritual; and thereby, also, his body and nature are ideally affected. And in this communion he goes through the two stages of esteem and love, the esteem being the basis of the love, and the love the perfection of the esteem. A life of true love to God, based upon holy reverence, and blossoming into pure love to man and devotion to the extension of the kingdom of God—such is the path upon which man attains to the ideal spiritualization not only of his personality, but particularly of his body and of external nature.

This ideal spiritualization of man, however, in no way supersedes or does away with the psychic life of the personality, but rather the contrary. It is he that "seeks" his soul, he that makes his psychic life uppermost, who really "loses" it; while he who "loses" it, he who subordinates it to the Spirit, really confirms and strengthens it. For it is, in fact, by the sway of the Spirit in the soul that the soul's deepest and highest needs are satisfied, and that it itself attains to the full ideal of its being. Indeed, it is only by the mediation of the soul that the process of true spiritualization can take place at all. The life of holy communion with God and man has, in fact, its very hearth-stone in the innermost center of the soul itself, to wit, in the *heart.* And it is from this center that the holy life sheds forth its influence upon the whole personality. And it is because the soul is the central unit in man, and equally participant in nature and in the divine Spirit, that all idealization of the soul reacts, also, at once transformingly upon the body and upon nature.

But we have not yet exhausted the factors which contribute to the true spiritualization of man's body and of nature; for the postulate of true communion with God, whereby this spiritualization takes place, rests itself upon a condition without

which it could not take place. This condition is the communion of God with man. To this we must now turn attention.

It is a general principle of the divine economy that innate potencies are called into activity only by homogeneous outward agencies. Thus the virtue of a grain is called forth by warmth and moisture; the child is induced to speak by being spoken to. So with the spirituality with which God has endowed us by nature. This divine word, as immanent within us, would remain dormant, were it not spoken to by the general creative Word as definitely manifest in the natural and personal world about us. The ideas of the true, good, right, and beautiful, as innate in us, would remain powerless were they not fructified by the objective revelation of truth, holiness, justice, and beauty, which breaks in upon them from nature and from history. And this objective revelation to our spirit is of very wide compass, coming not only from God and nature, but, also, from good and bad men, and even from demons. Thus man's capacities are not only awakened into life, but his freedom is called on to choose between good and evil.

But this is only the subjective phase of the matter. There is, also, an objective phase. God's design in manifesting himself to man is not simply to awaken man's powers into full play, but God wills to come himself into realistic union with humanity. Not merely will he speak to us by law, and symbol, and speech, but he will come into vital unity and identity with us; he will live our life, feel our sufferings, endure our shame. The Word wills to become flesh. The incarnation of God is not an act of love which was forced upon him as a mere means of overcoming our sin. It was a spontaneous act of his love, resolved upon before the foundation of the world. The intervention of sin only modified the mode of the incarnation; but the incarnation itself is based in the essential nature of humanity *per se*, as destined to personal communion with God. And whereas, normally, the incarnation would have been for us a realistic source of truth, holiness, and righteousness, it is now a redemption principle of illumination, righteousness, and life, a principle of *salvation*. This personal union of God with humanity in Christ, in view of leading man into vital communion with God, or of redeeming him out of sin, is God's fundamental, climacteric act in history, without which creation would have

been purposeless, and with which alone it reaches its ultimate goal. And all earlier partial revelations of God were but so many steps preparatory to this final and supreme one.

As the first creation took place by God's speaking forth his word into objectivity, so, also, with this second higher creation. In the first case the word was but an outstreaming from God's immanent essential Word; but here his hypostatic personal Word came forth out of the divine trinitary immanence, and assumed reality in the earthly world.

As from the creative Word a natural spirit went into the world, so from the incarnated personal Word there went into humanity also a Spirit—the *Holy Spirit.* The former is impersonal, the latter is personal. The former is the basis; this is the completion. The former is preparatory; this is definitive. The former is life manifestive; the latter is life-giving. It is under the influence of this Holy Spirit that the new birth, the ideal spiritualization of man's spirit-soul, takes place. And as man is also a nature-soul, hence the same regenerative influence goes over clarifyingly upon his body, and thence upon external nature.

The ideal spiritualization of the human body and of nature arises and proceeds from Him who, by an act of supreme love, constituted himself the head of creation, the *Son of man*, Jesus Christ. As generated of human nature by the Spirit of God, the Son of man sustained to the Spirit primarily only a natural relation. This had, then, to rise into a free moral relation. Hence, after Jesus had ripened up into full personal communion with God, the Spirit was formally shed forth upon him in a public anointing. As true man, Jesus had naturally within him the general Spirit of God, even as all other men. This life of the Spirit in him could come to development only under the influence of the objective revelation of God in nature, in Scripture, and in special manifestation. The soul of Jesus, by yielding to the full scope of this guidance, and by persisting in the obedience of love even unto death, exalted his natural divine sonship into a personal and moral one, and thus fully realized the union of human nature with the divine. Thereby Jesus also spiritualized his inner man, his soul, in its unity of spirit and of nature. And thus, also, he laid the foundation for the transfiguration, the ideal spiritualization, of his

body, inasmuch as the essence of the visible body is grounded in the soul. This process was an inner hidden one. The outward condition of his body remained unchanged till the end of his life. The hidden reality shone forth only in occasional gleams—in those miracles of mastery over his body and over nature with which the Gospels abound. This reality was ready for *full* manifestation only after the test of obedience unto death. After this test, then, it was manifested. Whether the complete outer transformation of the flesh had already taken place at his resurrection, or whether it took place gradually during the period of forty days, we do not discuss. We emphasize simply the *identity* of the risen with the buried body. It is not another body that is given to Christ, but the same body in which he died is raised and given back to him, as the angel signified by pointing to the empty grave, and as the Lord himself both declared and showed. The essence of his body remained the same; simply the mode of its existence was changed. A fleshly body has become a spiritual body, in which not only the free harmony of the soul with the inborn spirit stamps its harmony on the outer features, but, also, in which the material elements themselves are thoroughly permeated and exalted by the spirituality of the person. Hereby Christ has become entirely *spirit;* not that he has ceased to be a soul and to have a body, but that his soul and body have ceased to have any selfhood apart from the Spirit, and that the psychic and fleshly in him have been exalted into the pneumatic. Nay, Christ is thus not only spirit by pre-eminence, but he is *the* Spirit; and, as head of humanity and Mediator of the kingdom of God, he is the source and principle of the spiritualization of soul and body, and of the whole realm of nature. For not only is it Christ who, on the basis of the exaltation of human nature in his person, sends the Holy Spirit into humanity; but, also, that which the Spirit brings and imparts is itself nothing other than Christ's own psychic, bodily, and spiritual life, which he, as the head, sends out into us, his members.

This higher supernatural power of Christ affects human nature in two ways, in the body as *miracle*, in the spirit as *inspiration;* and that, too, *immediately.* For the exalting influence is here not conditioned on a free appropriation of this influence on the part of man, and is accordingly not attended by a spiritualiza-

tion of the body. It is true, miracle-working power and inspiration presuppose a certain receptiveness on the part of the subject; but this has only the significance of a general homogeneous basis, so that the *quantum* of the power or of the inspiration stands in no exact proportion to the *quantum* of faith. In the miracle and in inspiration the subject is momentarily lifted into the supernatural sphere. Hence, these experiences have the significance of prophetic anticipations of what will belong to man normally in his state of perfection. These two forms of power did not cease at the epoch of the formal effusion of the Holy Ghost. But as they had existed previously to the coming of Christ, and as preparing the world for him, so they continued after his ascension, disseminating his benefits over humanity. But with a difference; for whereas before Christ, because of the absence of the full reality of the new birth, they necessarily bore a violent and sporadic character, so after Christ, because of the presence of the new birth, they assumed a form more allied to the normal operations of the human soul.

But these charismatic fruits of redemption are the less important ones. The more important are those general fruits which are conditioned upon a *free* appropriation of the grace of Christ. As this process is mediated by the soul itself, hence it is attended with an exalting power over the body and over nature. The path of spiritual freedom runs through the sphere of knowledge. This calls for an objective presentation of the objects of knowledge, that is, the embodying of the spiritual meaning in an outer physical form. As the awakening of the personality into clear self-consciousness is conditioned by the objective world, so whatever contributes to the edification of the same is likewise conditioned by some form of external presentation. Thus the truth of salvation, as offered by the Holy Ghost to the soul, is communicated by an *outer word*, and not merely by an inner one. As from the eternal Logos the creative Word went forth to create the outer world, so from the incarnate Logos the salvatory word, the Gospel, goes forth to renovate the inner moral world. By the preaching of this salvatory word under the attendance of the Spirit, the inborn God-likeness of man is awakened out of its slumber of dormancy or of sin, and thus a struggle of decision is brought

about in the personal life-center of man, the ultimate issue of which is a definitive appropriation of his God-likeness, or a definitive rejection of the same. In the former case, the issue is a life of *faith.* By the attitude of faith, the innate capacity of love to, and communion with, God rises to actuality and to predominancy in the heart. Thereby the soul has become *spiritual* in its innermost principle. As Christ is spirit in himself, so the believer becomes thus spirit through Christ. This sense of the term "spirit" is common in the Scriptures, where man is called spiritual not merely in reference to his essence, but also in reference to his sentiments, his acquired character.

Now, as this moral spiritualization of man begins in the unitary center of his being, in his soul, as being both natural and spiritual, hence the foundation is thus laid for the spiritualization, also, of his body. But as man's probationary life is still inwoven with this external, untransfigured earthly world, hence this spiritualization does not essentially affect his present crude outward body, but is as yet only of a germinal internal character, and inheres rather in his soul than in his actual earthly body. It is, in fact, not as yet a developed body at all, but only the vital germ, the real potentiality and image of the future resurrection-body; even as in the actual wheat-grain, and invisibly imbedded in its substance, the germ of foliage and fruit lies invisible and hidden, and cannot come into actuality until that substance shall have fallen away. The Scriptures embrace this process in both of its phases, by speaking of the clarification of both soul and body as taking place in the "*inner man.*"

But man's relation to the development of this inner self is not merely receptive, it is also active. When he has once received in himself the germs of his spiritualized nature, it is his part now to bring them into rounded development. And as, in the process of his natural development, he stamps upon his natural body the traits of his natural character, so in the process of his spiritual development he stamps upon his germinal spiritual body the traits of his spiritual character. Of such high significance is the maintaining of an unswerving holy life in imitation of Christ! Christ himself assumes thereby form in us; but in each member this likeness of Christ is reflected under individual variations, and the ger-

minal body accurately reflects these variations. And the peculiar traits of spiritual beauty which occasionally beam out from the persons of ripened believers are actual reflexes of the transfigured corporeity which lies potentially within them. The natural fleshly body is simply the receptacle, the womb, in which the new body is invisibly generated and qualified, up to the hour when, the crude flesh falling away, it shall pass into the heavenly state and spring forth into its full beauty and actuality.

At death the soul passes into the "yon-side" without an outer body. It is not, however, *utterly* without a body, but takes over with it, as inherent in its personality, its germinal future body. And as this germinal body has moral qualities, hence souls in the middle state will not be without moral communion with each other. Still, the communion will not be complete; and hence the soul will long to be "clothed upon" with its realized body.

As in Christ his personal perfection was the necessary condition of his resurrection, while yet the resurrection itself took place only through a special act of God, so the resurrection of the believer will take place not in immediate consequence of his life of faith, but only through the power of the returning Christ. As, at the close of the first advent of Christ, the Holy Ghost shed itself abroad into humanity, so at Christ's second and more glorious advent will the Spirit shed itself into the whole body of nature as a condition of the full realization of the kingdom of God. In this act of transfiguration nature and humanity will stand in as close solidarity as was the case at the fall of man and his consequent expulsion from Eden. As in individual man's life, the wrath of God because of sin works the death and dissolution of his body, so will also finally the whole body of nature, as having served as theater for man's sin, be dissolved by the *fire* of the divine displeasure. On the other hand, Christ, by the spiritualization of his body, as taken out of the bosom of nature, has already consecrated nature itself to an ultimate transfiguration. On the basis of this beginning, therefore, will the Holy Ghost bring forth out of the bosom of the perishing world a new world—not another, but the same world in transfigured form, even as the raised body of Christ was not another but the same, but in a transfigured

condition. And nature, as thus renewed, will exist under the antithesis of heaven and earth, a "new heaven and a new earth." And the whole circle of natural objects will, also, come forth from death as integral parts of the new eternal state of things.

Also, by the same power of the Holy Ghost, as going out from Christ, will, then, the souls of the departed be clothed with glorified bodies. For by this power there will be brought to the soul, out of the transfigured world, materials analogous to the substance of its previous body, and upon these materials the soul will then impress the traits of its germinal body, so as thus to attain to full objective expression. In the case of those still living at the second coming of Christ, the process will be that of a simple transformation. Thus, even as Christ arose with the buried body, so each person will then appear in the "same" body which was laid in the grave. And this identity holds of the whole essence of the body, both its primary features and form, and also its substance. As to whether this identity of the materials implies the identity of the chemical elements, or even the identity of the ultimate atoms, is a question which *loses all significance* so soon as we reflect that these elements and atoms themselves are in turn composed of invisible forces, and that in order to become integral parts of an organism they must be dissolved back into these forces, and then arise out of them under a new form.

Should we now endeavor to specify more definitely the nature of the transfigured world and body, we are at once met with a supreme difficulty. All our conceptions are cramped and tinged with the merely earthly categories by which our present life is every-where hemmed in. How, then, can we correctly conceive of the transmundane life which is above such limitations? At best, therefore, we can only approximate the reality by the help of earthly *analogies.*

With such purpose, then, let us go back a little and take man's earthly nature afresh into view. As coming from the creative hand, man was a personal soul standing in a natural unity with God and with nature. He stood thus under two laws—the law of communion with God and nature, and the law of selfhood. By his moral freedom he stood under an imperative to raise this *natural* unity into a *moral* unity, and

thus give to the law of communion such supremacy as alone would insure to his normal selfhood its real dignity and true co-ordination into the order of the kingdom of God.

This imperative man did *not* obey. By sin he gave to the law of selfhood supremacy over the law of communion. Thus his natural harmony with God and nature was broken up. Communion with God was interrupted, and Paradise was banished from earth. What were the objective effects of this?

By the primal law of creation all things stand in harmonious juxtaposition, that is, in concatenation with each other. This law involves both selfhood and communion, for concatenation implies both the reality of the things, and also their union with each other. According, now, to the quality of the life prevalent in the things, the one or the other of these laws reigns supreme. If selfhood reigns, then the harmonious juxtaposition is changed into a hostile opposition. If communion reigns, then the juxtaposition is exalted into a spiritual interpenetration. By the fall of man the former took place. Selfhood became supreme. Thus man isolated himself from God, from his fellow, and from nature. The primitive juxtaposition of things, instead of rising into spiritual. interpenetration, sank into hostile opposition, antagonistic isolation. Thus they came to lie *spacially* outside of each other, without any overlying bond of union.

Space is not a mere *human conception.* It is of the essence of things that they exist *in space.* To deny the reality of space is to reduce the world and ourselves to mere conceptions. Space itself, however, is neither a thing nor a substance. It is simply a term expressive of the mode of the existence of things in this world. Hence space extends no farther than finite creation. It is true, our empirical thinking tends to regard it as unlimited. For what limit can we set to space? What lies beyond our farthest stretch of imagination? Space, of course. Thus we are lost in the endless, and the endless is the limitless; but the limitless is the formless. Who, now, can grasp that which is devoid of outline? Consequently that which is without end is inconceivable.

What, now, has this to do with the world? The world as made by God is a finite organic whole, wherein each member is mutually related to each other and to the whole. As space

is not existent *per se*, but is simply implied and involved in creation, hence space is limited by the world. Beyond this created world there is no space, in the earthly sense; whatever lies there is, in relation to this world, spaceless. Or, rather, we might call it superspacial; for there lies that which surrounds and upholds this spacial world, and is, indeed, its ground and goal.

Space, then, as we know it, with its law of individualistic isolation, is by no means a law of universal existence. It holds good only for this world of flesh, where the principle of selfhood reigns supreme over that of communion. *Above* this world exists a world of absolute interpenetration, a world of love, wherein the life of communion prevails in ideal perfection. There the natural juxtaposition of things has become a moral union: there is heaven, the throne of God; there all life exists in a blissful omnipresence. But, also, *below* this world of flesh there exists a world—that world wherein the principle of selfhood has attained to absolute mastery, and has suppressed the principle of communion—a world in which the primitive juxtaposition of creatures had sunk into the absolute isolation of infinite mutual hate—an omnipresence of diabolicity.

In the midst, between these worlds, the supernatural and the subnatural, stands now this earthly world of ours, with its strong sin-occasioned drift toward the lower, but yet with its ideal affinity for the upper not entirely extinguished. And similar is the condition both of humanity and of external nature—the latter as a reflex of the former.

This leads to a further step. All true communion between finite creatures exists simply by the fact that a bond from above extends down to them and holds them together. Thus all communion between men assumes a normal character only as men subordinate themselves to the collective kingdom of God, that is, only as one ego unites itself to another in the supreme, the divine, Ego. The same relation is reflected in the world of nature. There is a natural earth and a natural heaven; and between the two there is communion through the law of attraction, which embraces them both. *Light* is the chief revelation of the upper to the lower sphere of nature, even as God's revelation to man is metaphorically designated as light. Light in nature corresponds to spirit in personality. Furthermore,

we observe in the lower world of nature a tendency of things to self-concentration. This is the very essence of *matter:* we call it *gravitation.* Gravitation and light are the two poles of nature, which correspond to the antithesis between human selfhood and communion with God. As now personal selfhood, so long as it holds fast to God, is, *per se*, good; so of earthly gravitation. As light in nature is analogous to spirit in personality, so is gravitation analogous to the assumption of a body by the personality. And as gravitation is, *per se*, good, so is also the body. As now, by the union of spirit and body, man becomes a "living soul," so by the co-operation of light and gravitation *life* is preserved—the soul of nature. But gravitation forms only the basis for the earthly life, even as does the body for the soul in man. The power that generates the life is light, even as the fructifier of the soul is spirit, love, divine communion. Thus, just as all merely natural life is absolutely dependent upon the influence of natural light, so all moral creatures absolutely depend upon communion with the "true Light," Christ.

The divine intention was, that the law of gravitation should be the obedient servant of the law of light. And it was to be the task of man, by the spiritualization of his corporeity, to effect this state of things. Had he obeyed God he would have done this. Then, earth would have been exalted into an eternal Spring of paradise. Then, with the growth of humanity in spiritualization, a paradisaical condition would have been imprinted upon the entire earth. But when, by the reaction of man's sinful selfhood upon nature, the law of gravity gained the upper hand, then nature became relatively impervious to the transforming power of light. For though light was not entirely banished from matter—as, indeed, it is *absolutely* shut out from nowhere but from *hell*—still the tendency of all earthly life is downward, and it finally sinks entirely into darkness. Thus, collective nature has become a "body of flesh." The world is *flesh* because of its drift downward, whereas it ought to be spirit, with a drift upward; that is, it ought to be entirely subordinate to the service of spirit, instead—as it does—of offering obstinate resistance to it.

Thus, from the supremacy of the selfhood principle, a twofold tendency has been imparted to nature—a tendency *down-*

ward, and a tendency to *isolation*. Now, as all natural life consists in a flow of forces upward toward the light, and together toward union, hence it is evident how hostile to all life is this supremacy of selfhood. *Fire* is the culmination of this life-hostile principle. Fire, either active or latent, permeates the whole present constitution of nature. Proof of this is the ever-continuing decomposition of all earthly organisms, which is simply perpetual combustion. But highest proof is that word of Scripture, according to which at the end of days the whole body of nature, heaven and earth, are to "pass away" in fire—not a fire introduced from without, but a fire which lurks in the very essence of this fleshly world, and which, on the manifestation of Christ's light "from heaven," will burst forth from within with all-consuming might.

This combustion of natural objects is their *death;* and man's body, as not spiritualized, but as fallen under the law of sin, shares in the same death. The soul, having broken off from communion with God, has ceased to be master over the downward drift of matter; hence it is unable definitively to hold together the elements of its body. Accordingly these elements finally break away from its control, and sink away into the "dust" from whence they came. Premonitions of this finality are diseases; death is simply disease complete.

After the universal combustion, a transfigured "heaven and earth" will come forth; and simultaneously will also come forth our bodies in a transfigured state. Then the Spirit of God, with its law of *communion* and *love*, will become the dominant principle of creation. Thereby the constitution of nature and of our own corporeity will necessarily be radically changed.

A chief trait of the transfigured world will be that all matter will be open to, and pervaded by, *light*. The drift to isolation is thereby overcome. Every thing is bound together in light. Although the antitheses of *upper* and *lower* will still subsist, their subsistence will be absolutely normal; hence the law of communion will be supreme, and will be obediently served by the law of selfhood. Individual objects will, as it were, only contribute, by dissolving the common light into a thousand tints, to reflect the full beauty of that light in harmonious glory. Thus the principle of selfish juxtaposition will give place to that of mutual interpenetration. Thereby is realized in the world

of matter the same general law of love, which attains to its highest expression in the realm of personality. Thus there will prevail in nature a ceaseless drift of elective attraction and union, in virtue of which no object will stand in isolation for itself, but only in vital interpenetration by the whole. And while at present each object lives more or less at the expense of other objects, then there will be the freest intercommunication of forces and offices, so that each will live in all, and all in each.

Thus, life has attained to its ideal. The current from the center to the periphery meets with no obstacle to its free flow. There is no longer any antagonism of forces. Fire has lost its death-power, and is become a servant of light. No one organ lives at the expense of another; no one life-center at the expense of another center. All is subordinate to the indwelling Spirit, and has in this Spirit its principle of life; hence all is in absolute harmony, and all is imperishable.

And what holds good of nature in general, holds pre-eminently so of the future body. As being the very crown of the world, it will be thoroughly permeated with the principle of harmony, of communion, of love. It, in fact, will be the fruitful nucleus from which all transfiguring power will go out into the body of nature. It will be a thoroughly spiritualized body, but its relation to the soul will be the same as in the earthly state. As the earthly body is plastically formed by the soul, and receives from the soul the character the soul receives from the spirit, so with the heavenly body. The elements of this body will be drawn from the nutrient storehouse of nature. But as this nature will be a spiritualized, glorified nature, hence the body derived from it will be a spiritual body. In a word, the future body of the redeemed will be spiritual, because of the indwelling supremacy of the life-giving Spirit of God, in virtue of which the spiritualized soul will incessantly repair its body with imperishable elements from external spiritualized nature. Such a body will be essentially a *body of light*, a *heavenly body*. Being thoroughly imbued with the spiritual element, it will be in absolute harmony with itself and with God, the objective principle of all things; hence it will be *immortal*.

It is only in this, its true spirituality, that the body answers its real destination. It is only now that it is a true mirror of

the soul. True, the body of flesh is in some degree also a reflex of the soul. In its stubbornness, its clumsiness, its deformity, and diseases, it is, in fact, a good index of the disordered, abnormal, sinful soul. Here the body assumes a degree of cramping independence over against the soul, so that the soul is actually taken captive. And so thoroughly is this the case, that even the truly regenerated soul is unable, because of its concatenation with untransfigured nature and society, radically to stamp itself upon the body. At its best earthly state the body is, therefore, in some degree a vail, instead of a mirror, of the soul. And to some extent this would have been so, even had man not fallen into sin. For while the unfallen, natural soul was normally maturing into a spiritual soul, the natural body would still have lacked in spiritualization, and hence would have been a partial vail to the inner sentiments of the heart, as, indeed, would have been required by the very nature of a moral probation. But at the close of the probation the body without would have become the thorough reflex of the soul within. Now precisely this is what the new body of the saved will be in heaven. Here there will be a perfect outward reflection of all that passes within. It will be a body of light, and hence it will reveal and manifest to the universe the very finest shades of thought and sentiment which exist in the soul. It will be a perfect image of the spirit of communion and holy love—a perfect outward manifestation of the spiritual harmony within. The primitive antithesis between the spirit-soul and the nature-soul in man will be raised into absolute harmony and unity. Hence man's merely animal and vegetative functions will no longer have a sort of relative independence of his personality. The crude, nutritive process will no longer exist as such. But the glorified bodies will not be mere monotonous duplicates of each other. As there is endless variety of individuality in character, so this variety in its most delicate shades will shine forth from the heavenly bodies. And in the midst of the variety there will be absolute harmony. All the bodies will be light; but as one star differs from another in glory—as there is one glory of the sun, and another of the moon—so with the galaxy of resurrection bodies. But the pattern of the glory of them all will be the glorified body of Christ.

Here human nature will have attained to complete glory. With the clarification of the body the personality rises to complete inner unity. Whereas in this life we consist of the three elements—body, soul, and spirit—which may even be separated from each other, in the heavenly life the body and soul will be so pervaded with spirit that the entire human being will present but one unitary spiritual life. As Christ, the head of the kingdom, is *the* Spirit by pre-eminence, so we, his members, will likewise be *spirit*—spirit in the highest and, also, most concrete sense, as a realistic unity of personal and natural life in the divine ideal, through the power of the Holy Ghost.

When all is thus transfigured, then *pure beauty* will reign. Heaven is the true home of beauty. For the essence of beauty consists in this—that the life of the soul beams perfectly forth from the body, and that the body thereby sheds a halo of glory back upon the soul. All true art is a groping after heavenly ideals, and all art-works are anticipations of future spiritual realities. But in the "yon-side" each human being will be a living art-work, and the life of communion among the saints will be an eternal evolution of holy art-life.

And as the new body will be a mirror of, so will it also be a suitable *home* for, the soul. This is not true of the present body. Its crudeness robs us of light and freedom from without, and annoys us with sufferings from within. And while this crudeness serves partially as a vail from the approaches of evil, it, also, largely vails us off from the influences of the good. Thus, instead of beholding heavenly things from face to face, we are shut up to the path of *faith*. While the old body is an occasion of manifold temptations, the new one will be in absolute obedience to the spirit, and hence will offer no hinderance, but only help. And as it will stand in full communion with the kingdoms of natural and of spiritual light, hence it will be superior to the laws of gravitation and of passivity. Hence it will move at will through the realm of space. Wherever the soul may will to be, there it will be able to be. Hence the body will not be a prison, but, on the contrary, a *free* home, for the soul.

Also the new body will serve the soul as a perfect *organ* for intercourse with the objective world. This intercourse will be

as essential in the future as at present. Indeed, it will only then exist in perfection, for nature will stand in a more obedient relation to the soul. Light will no longer be located in the stars, but will fully pervade all being. There will be no more "need" of sun and moon, but the glorified Christ will be an omnipresent fountain of light. Hence there will be no longer any "day or night," or any change of seasons; there will be an eternal day, and an ever-blooming springtime.

And as with nature in general, so with natural objects in particular. There will be nothing desert or waste; but the divine breath will pervade all things. Vegetation will exist in ideal beauty. Greed and hostility will find no place in the animate realm; the wolf will "lie down with the lamb" in unbroken peace. In general all primitive forms of existence will reappear in ideal perfection. Man will enjoy nature through all of his senses. The Paradise that existed before sin will be restored after redemption. We shall "eat of the tree of life," and drink of the fruit of the vine. But our eating and drinking will not be for the satiation of wants; it will be a pure enjoyment of the goodness of God.

But man's relation to nature will be not merely receptive, but, also, active. As it is man's call even here to shape nature into perfection, much more will it be so hereafter. The whole realm of glorified materiality will be one vast platform for the plastic influence of glorified spirits. Hence, science, and art, and the mechanism of life, will reach the ideal perfection toward which they here grope in vain.

For his active relation to nature, glorified man will have in his glorified powers the suitable means. As his heart will beat with the heart of God, hence his spirit will find no hinderance to its outgoings. All charismata, all miraculous gifts, will settle down upon man as his permanent endowments. We are sown in weakness, but we "rise in power." There will be no alternation of work and rest, of vigor and weariness; but we shall subsist in ever-full vigor and enthusiasm.

Nor will the new body be more serviceable for communion with outer nature than with the world of personalities. It is through the body that love reveals its inner life and imparts its gifts. But how defective for this service is our present

body! How imperfectly are our best sentiments, experiences, and goods, communicable even to our most intimate friends! What a hinderance is even the external barrier of space! These obstacles to love will all be fallen away. Our perfect union with Christ will be a perfect union with all that is Christ's. Whatever is inwardly at one, will also be outwardly in union. Though the special limitation of the body will not cease, this limitation will form no exclusion of person from person. Our outward materiality will not decide *where* we are; but we shall *be* just where the outgoings of our heart call for us. As we shall all be united by the bond of love, so there will exist a certain omnipresence of our personal being—not, indeed, a physically necessary omnipresence, but simply a morally conditioned one. The body will be the perfect servant of the soul; hence it will be capable of instantly following, and keeping pace with, all the outgoings of imagination and thought. The law of love, whereby we live *in* those on whom we fix our heart, will be perfectly reflected in the body. The indwelling of soul in soul will be also an indwelling of body in body. And in this each will find his due place—so that even as the Church of Christ here forms but one body with many members, thus, also, hereafter saved humanity will form but *one* organic *body*, whereof we shall all be members, each in his place. And of this organic whole, the head, the focal point, the sun, will be Christ himself. As our souls will eternally live of his life, so our bodies will eternally shine in the radiance of his glorified body.

Thus we reach the goal of our search. Thus the dualism of being is solved into unity. Nature is not a mere temporary scaffolding for a momentary purpose: it is the necessary substratum of a moral universe. Our bodies are not mere caducous husks, to be thrown off when the soul is ripe. But nature and the kingdom of God, the rational soul and the human body, belong normally and essentially together. When the one is transfigured, the other is transfigured. And when, at the goal of moral development, they are risen to integral unity, then they persist, through eternity, as intimately united as form and substance, light and color.

Art. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Catholic Quarterly Review, July, 1877. (Philadelphia.)—1. The English in their Continental Homestead. 2. The Framework of Society. 3. The Church and the State. 4. The Ruins of Ephesus. 5. The Blue Laws of Connecticut. 6. Mr. R. W. Thompson on the Papacy and Civil Power. 7. Roman Forgeries.

Baptist Quarterly, July, 1877. (Philadelphia.) — 1. Ethical Prolegomena. 2. Is the World Growing Better? 3. Baptism and Remission. 4. Mohammed and his Religion. 5. The Relation of the Free State to Education. 6. A Didactic Poem.

New Englander. July, 1877. (New Haven.)—1. Relation of Student-Life to Health and Longevity. 2. Bible Hygiene. 3. John Stuart Mill. 4. The Source of American Education—Popular and Religious. 5. Advantages and Disadvantages of a Society in Connection with a Church. 6. Robertson of Brighton. 7. Shall Womanhood be Abolished? 8. The Eastern Church.

New-England Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1877. (Boston.) —1. Alexis Caswell, D.D., LL.D., Ex-President of Brown University. 2. Autobiography of William Roch. 3. A Study of the Virginia Census of 1624. 4. The Powder-Mill in Canton. 5. Documents relating to Emigrants from Jersey. 6. Barnstable Family Names. 7. Marriages in West Springfield, Mass. 8. A Yankee Privateersman in Prison, 1777–79. Diary of Timothy Connor. 9. The Indian Attack on Casco in 1676. 10. Record of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Inspection, and Safety. 11. Thomas Newcomb's Account-Book. 12. The Gayer Family. 13. Town Rates of Newton and Billerica. 14. Documents relating to Col. John Humphreys's Farm at Lynn. 15. Passengers and Vessels that have arrived in America. 16. Documents relative to the Dalliber Family. 17. Baptisms in Dover, N. H., 1767–1787, by Rev. *Jeremy Belknap*, D.D. 18. Longmeadow, Mass., Families. 19. Abstracts of Earliest Wills in Suffolk County, Mass. 20. Will of Robert Fitt. 21. Genealogical Waifs. 22. Record-Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass.

North American Review, September–October, 1877. (Boston.)—1. The "Electoral Conspiracy" Bubble Exploded. 2. The Decline of the Drama. 3. The War in the East, (with Maps.) Part II. 4. Perpetual Forces. 5. How shall the Nation regain Prosperity? 6. New American Novels. 7. "Fair Wages." 8. Reformed Judaism. 9. The Recent Strikes. 10. Progress in Astronomical Discovery.

Quarterly Review of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, July, 1877, (Gettysburg.)—1. General Synod. 2. The Author of the Augsburg Confession. 3. Missions in the First and in the Nineteenth Centuries. 4. Andrew Marvell, the Incorruptible Member from Hull. 5. Our Present Knowledge of the Sun. 6. Modern Evangelism. 7. The Germans in the General Synod. 8. Peter Not the Church's Foundation. 9. Individualism.

North American Review, July–August, 1877. (Boston.)—1. The Electoral Conspiracy. 2. The War in the East, (with Maps.) 3. Fitz-Greene Halleck. 4. The American Constitution. II. 5. Moral Reflections. 6. New Russia. 7. How shall the Nation regain Prosperity? 8. Reformed Judaism. 9. America in Africa. I.

Mr. Wells' article on our national prosperity shows how we have lost it, and reserves to a second article the showing how to regain. The loss has arisen from vast destruction by wars

and bad fiscal policy, but mostly by the immense improvement in machineries on farms, in mills, and in all the productive agencies, by which the laborer has been supplanted and millions flung out of employment. The productive agencies have been increased and the purchasing power diminished, and all our new retrenchments and economies increase the evil.

HOW PUBLIC BURDENS HAVE BEEN PRODUCED.

Since 1860 the national debts of the world, incurred mainly for war purposes, have been increased by a sum larger than ten thousand millions of dollars; at least an equal amount, taken from current annual product, was expended during the same period for similar unproductive purposes; and a *third equal sum* will probably fail to represent what has been invested during the same time in enterprises, industrial or productive in their inception or purport, but which are now unproductive in the sense of returning any income to those who contributed. A part of this latter aggregate undoubtedly represents change in the distribution, and not absolute waste of capital or wealth; but the items of loss omitted in any such estimate, and of which it is impossible to take more than general cognizance, would, if obtainable, undoubtedly carry the aggregate of the destruction or impairment of the world's capital since 1860 far above the sum of the figures above mentioned. Had all these losses fallen exclusively upon the United States they would have been equivalent to the destruction or transfer of all its existing accumulated wealth — the result of all the capital earned and saved, or brought into the country, since it became the abode of civilized man. In the case of Prussia, a country of small fortunes and small incomes, the losses sustained by 432 joint-stock companies since 1872, as measured by the fall in the market prices of their stocks, has been recently shown by Dr. Engle, of Berlin, to be equal to nearly six years of the public revenue, and to represent a very large part of the comparatively small savings of that nation. In short, the world, for the last fifteen or sixteen years, has been specially wasting its substance—playing on a great scale the part of the Prodigal Son—and such a course, if persisted in, will, in virtue of a common law, ultimately bring nations as well as individuals alike to the husks. Such, however, through invention and discovery, has been the comparatively recent increase in the world's power of production, that resort to the husks need be but temporary; and were it not for continued war expenditures and bad economic laws, the restoration of the world's impaired wealth, through economy or increased industry, would soon be effected.—Pp. 116, 117.

OUR PRODUCTION OF WOOLEN MILLS.

The fact is now very generally recognized that the capital which, under the stimulus of war and a vicious fiscal policy, has

been invested in the United States since 1860 in iron-works and woolen-mills, and which represented the savings for years of the labor of a very large number of persons, has been in great part as much wasted as though destroyed by fire or sunk in the ocean. A most remarkable item of evidence in support of this statement is to be found in a communication on the state of the Woolen Goods Trade in the United States, made to the New York "World" under date of February 17, 1877, by one of the most prominent manufacturing firms in New England, (Mudge, Sawyer & Co.,) in which they state "that there would be no improvement in the [woolen goods] trade until the mills ceased over-production; that if one half of the machinery were stopped or burned the general trade would be good; that there was too much woolen machinery in the country for our market; and that, as we could not export any description of woolen goods, we should have to wait for the growth of the population or the wearing out of the machinery." Or, in other words, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, one half of the capital invested in the woolen manufacturing industry of the country, (worsted goods excluded,) amounting, according to the last census, (1870,) to $49,400,000, is so useless and harmful that the general interests of the trade would be improved if the buildings, machinery, etc., which represent and embody such capital, were subjected to conflagration or compulsory inaction.—Pp. 116, 117.

EXTRA LABOR NECESSARY TO PAY OUR NATIONAL DEBT.

With the existing power of production in the country, about twenty-five minutes' extra labor per day on the part of its adult male working population would suffice to defray all the interest on our present National, State, and municipal debt, and establish a sinking-fund sufficient to extinguish the aggregate principals of the same, provided a market and sale could be obtained for the resulting products of such labor at substantially existing prices.—P. 118.

HOW MACHINERY FORESTALLS LABOR.

Ninety cotton operatives, with an average annual food-purchasing power each of $300, (increased from $200 since 1838 by increase of wages,) will now purchase and consume farm products, or their equivalents, to the aggregate value of $27,000 per annum; requiring the present labor of 135 farmers, producing $200 per annum through improved machinery and processes (as compared with $100 in 1838) over and above the subsistence of themselves and families. The ratio of industrial or economic equilibrium between cotton-cloth producers and the producers of other commodities essential to a comfortable livelihood in the United States in 1876 was therefore approximately as 90 to 135; or, in other words, the labor of 225 persons is as effective in 1876 in meeting the demands of the country for cloth and food products as was

the labor of 631 persons in effecting similar results in 1838; and as a consequence of this change in the power of production, the labor of 466 other persons have, within this time and within the special industrial sphere under investigation, been rendered unnecessary; and they have been compelled to enter into relations with new wants and new capabilities of purchase in order to find employment. Results similar, and possibly even more striking, are afforded by the analysis of other leading American industries. Thus, in the manufacture of boots and shoes, three men working with machinery can do at present what, prior to 1860, required the labor of six men to effect; while the individual or *per capita* consumption of boots and shoes in the United States has probably been more uniform during the same period than is the case with almost any other commodity. At a convention of the stove trade last year (1876) in St. Louis it was also officially reported that, under what may be called a healthy trade, there was at least thirty-three per cent. greater present capacity for making stoves in the United States than the country requires, and that three men now, with the aid of machinery, can produce as many stoves as six men unaided could have done in 1860. In the manufacture of straw goods 300 hands in one of the largest factories in New England do more with the sewing-machine than what a comparatively few years ago required a thousand to effect when sewing of the braid was done by hand; and the steam-press turns off four hats to the minute, in place of the old rate of one hat to four minutes. Similar results, derived from the consideration of our industries as a whole, are also given in the last national census, which shows that, while the increase in population in the United States from 1860 to 1870 was less than twenty-three per cent., the gain in the product of our so-called manufacturing industries during the same period, *measured in kind*, was fifty-two per cent., or near thirty per cent. in excess of the gain in population.—Pp. 120, 121.

EFFECT OF SUEZ CANAL ON LABOR.

It diverted from employment and rendered comparatively useless, between 1870 and 1875, about two millions sailing-vessel tonnage, and substituted steam-tonnage, passing through the canal. It shortened the time for operations in India produce in Europe to the extent of certainly one half, and probably five sixths; and this economy of time, conjointly with the use of the telegraph, has not only obviated the necessity of accumulating and carrying large stocks of India produce in Europe, which were essential when every Indian order necessitated six months after it was given for its fulfillment, but has also correspondingly diminished the great advantage which England formerly enjoyed in this trade from her immense capital and credit. It has restored in a degree to the Mediterranean ports the commerce of India, of which they were so disastrously deprived at the close of the fifteenth century by the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the route by the Cape of Good

> Hope. Or, to sum up, it has rendered unnecessary so large and so costly an amount of the old machinery of an important branch of the world's trade — warehouses, sailing-vessels, capital, six-months' bills, and the merchant himself and his retinue of *employés*—and has so altered and twisted so many of the existing modes and channels of business as to cause immense losses, mischief, and confusion.—Pp. 123, 124.

Our productive public lands will soon be exhausted. The difficulty for the poor man to rise by manual effort into wealth is fast increasing. This is the source of "strikes," and he who deals with strikes as the evil is like a physician who doctors symptoms regardless of the real disease from which they spring. The problem is how to furnish remunerative employment to the laborer. This is the great question of the hour for solution.

Bishop Haven's article on Africa is in his best style. The policy of England to get possession of that continent is skillfully portrayed. What our true policy is will be unfolded in another article.

In the book notices of this Review we find the following striking distinction between ancient and modern art:—

> When we pass from Homer to the Nibelungen, or from Virgil to Dante and Ariosto, or from Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides to Shakspeare, Calderon, Goethe, and Schiller, we have the feeling that another atmosphere moves about us, as if we entered a new world. The Greek and Roman music is quite different from our modern music. It makes little account of harmony, knows nothing of thorough-bass, and its instruments were chiefly various flutes and harps. It would seem at first sight, on the contrary, that in the plastic arts, where the universal laws of statics and mechanism prevail, and the forms of nature and man are essentially the same, as in sculpture and painting, the difference between ancient and modern art must almost wholly disappear. Yet what a significant, deep distinction there is between a Greek temple and a Gothic dome—between the Moses of Michel Angelo, or an apostle's statue by Andrew Sansovini or Peter Fischer, and the Greek figures of a hero or a god—between a picture of Raphael and all that we know of ancient painting! If we ask what the difference is, we reply that the ancient art is more plastic, the modern is more picturesque. If we seek the ground of this distinction, we find it not merely in the different forms of sculpture and painting, nor in the different materials—on the one hand, clay, wood, stone, brass, and on the other hand, canvas, the pencil, and color—that are used. The real distinction lies in the sphere of intellect, or in the different conceptions of the idea of beauty.

The mere copy of an external form is not art, but art begins with a feeling or thought which seeks to express itself in some material, and the material is as unsatisfactory without the mind as the mind is unsatisfactory without the material. The main thing is the true relation between subject and form, being and manifestation, soul and body. It is obvious that accordingly as one or the other of these elements dominates in a work of art, the form of the art varies. When the external element or the body prevails, sculpture is the favorite form; when the spiritual element, the soul, is commanding, painting is the best expression. Hence we can justly say that ancient art is plastic, and modern art is picturesque. Plastic art requires physical beauty that is capable of being put into actual form. It requires such definiteness of subject that it can be presented in the three dimensions of matter; it demands that repose should prevail over movement, and also that the universal type should prevail over individual peculiarity; and the finer traits of personality should be secondary to the general proportion and the necessary laws of form. The picturesque, on the other hand, gives the lead to the ideal factor; puts spirit above nature, soul above body; brings out what is subjective, individual, characteristic, in such way as to make the personal, the individual, the essential object and aim; while the universal type appears as the substratum, as means or model. This distinction is seen even in ancient and modern literature; and ancient poetry is regulated by quantity, and modern poetry by accent; and thus the plastic and the picturesque appear.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1877. (Andover.)—1. Missionary Culture. 2. An Exposition of the Original Text of Genesis i and ii. 3. Charles James Fox as an Orator. 4. The Derivation of Unquam. Usquam, and Usque. 5. Cotton Mather and the Witchcraft Delusion. 6. Aristotle. 7. Notes on Egyptology. 8. Characteristics of Homeric Poetry. 9. American Oriental Society. 10. On Assyriology. 11. Acropolis of Athens by E. Beulé. 12. German Notices of Mr. Rowland G. Hazard's Volume on Causation and Freedom in Willing.

In his "Notes on Egyptology" Dr. Thomson gives an account of Dr. Brugsch's "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs," which book he affirms "does mark an epoch in the science of Egyptology." By an immense amount of selective labor Dr. Brugsch has made out a consecutive list of Egyptian kings up to the first king Menes, whom he dates at 4,455 B. C., more than two thousand years earlier than the Hebrew date of the flood. Brugsch's labor consists largely in verifying or correcting the lists of Manetho by other records, and thus giving us a revised list.

The two lists of the first Pharaohs, found in the temple of Abydos, the list found at Sakkarah, and a fourth, in a private tomb at Thebes, show conclusively that Manetho's lists must have been compiled from records and monuments, which in his

time were regarded as chronological lists of consecutive dynasties True or false, *this was the notion the Egyptians had of their own royal succession.* The question of time, that is, of the duration of these dynasties, in the absence of conclusive dates, is quite distinct from the fact of chronological order, though the order of succession furnishes a proximate rule for the computation of time. . . .

Every point stated in the above specifications is distinctly supported by the monuments and records of Egypt; and it will at once be seen that these furnish a good back-bone of chronology, and a tolerably well articulated skeleton of history. But when we attempt to construct the body, with form, organs, integuments, life, the real difficulty begins.

With all his research, acumen, industry, enthusiasm, Dr. Brugsch has not established the chronology of Egypt, nor any one satisfactory date in that remote antiquity which possesses the highest interest for the elucidation of both biblical history and the general history of mankind. A glance at his table of royal epochs is a most disappointing sequel to his glowing pages. It is easy to mark the dates of the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, and two centuries before by Cambyses; and we may feel our way back, step by step, to the close of the sixth century before Christ, and may gain two or three proximate dates in the tenth and eleventh centuries B. C.; but when from the twelfth century onward our author assigns to each reign an average of thirty-three years, allowing but three reigns to a century, and his columns read 1,200, 1,233, 1,266, 1,300, 1,333, 1,366, and so on back to 4,400 B. C. as the date of Menes, we see that such tables are as really "crooked" as are the antediluvian tables of the Septuagint. Dr. Brugsch assumes that the first sixty-five names of the royal tablet of Abydos represent not only the regular official succession, but also the direct lineal succession from father to son, in the house of Menes. Then, taking as a basis the calculation of Herodotus, that on an average three successive lives of the same stock fill out a century, he gives to these sixty-five kings a range of two thousand one hundred and sixty-five years before the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which he assigns to the year 1558 B. C.—thus making a total of three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four years. But he also allows five hundred years for the interruption of the Egyptian monarchy by the Hyksos invasion, and hence goes back to the forty-first century B. C. for the ascension of Menes to the throne. Now, this whole calculation proceeds upon a purely artificial theory; and, though the condition of Egypt at that early period seems to have favored stability and longevity, yet the monuments show the frequency of wars and the habitual exposure of the king in battle. Hence, in view of the ordinary vicissitudes of government, history teaches that we must allot to sovereigns a shorter term than the average of human life—say, five or six reigns to a century, rather than three. This would reduce the era of Menes to about 3,000

B. C., "the lowest point to which a chronologist can venture to depress the date of Menes." The following are the principal dates, B. C., to which German Egyptologists have assigned the beginning of the Egyptian kingdom: Boeckh, 5,702: Unger, 5,613; Brugsch, 4,455; Lauth, 4,157; Lepsius, 3,892; Bunsen, 3,623 — a difference of two thousand and seventy-nine years. And, be it remembered, in the first eighteen dynasties not one solitary date has been fixed with absolute certainty as a point for evolving the chronology of the period.

It is a great advance toward historical certainty to have fixed with so much definiteness the names of the kings of Egypt and the order of their succession. What is yet wanting is the date of the accession of some of the leading Pharaohs of the older time. This once made sure, it may be possible to frame a chronology of Egypt that shall elucidate or rectify the chronology of the Hebrews.—Pp. 540, 542, 543.

Specialists are always to be kindly suspected, not of dishonesty, but over enthusiasm. Their conclusions are never safe until they have been well aired by general examination. Dr. Thomson well distrusts Brugsch, and we slightly distrust Dr. Thomson. We catch not a glimpse from either that indicates any thing in Egyptology to "rectify the chronology of the Hebrews."

Taken as two opposing histories or chronologies, simply as a literary question, apart from any theological interest, the Egyptian cannot stand for a moment in comparison with the Hebrew. The very absence of all Egyptian dates proves that the Egyptians possessed no true historic genius; while the very formal accuracy of the Hebrew pedigrees in point of numerical figures shows the precise reverse of the early Abrahamidæ. At every step of the Genesis genealogies we recognize a chronological, archæological, and genealogical purpose, giving exact numbers of age when principal son was born, and of years of father's life after that birth. Who knows that the successive *rulers* in the earlier Egyptian dynasties were all hereditary kings, and, not chosen governors, like Roman consuls or American presidents? Take France during the present century, and count all her executive *rulers*, including Lamartine and Thiers, and, supposing the numbers through the remainder of the century to be in ratio with the past, we would have *rulers* enough to equal two or three Egyptian dynasties in a single hundred years. We would not abate one jot of the enthusiasm of our Egyptologists, and are ourselves enthusiastic over the wonderful treas-

ures they have unearthed. But, so far as we can estimate, in chronology earlier than the twelfth dynasty their results are a magnificent unreliability. We wait for evidence on this point as yet unfurnished.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, July, 1877. (Baltimore.)—1. Augustinism: Original Sin. 2. The Mission of the Microscope. 3. The Gospel according to Matthew. 4. Seiss on the Gospels. 5. Edgar Allan Poe. 6. Dabney and Bennett *vs.* Bledsoe. 7. An Extraordinary Scene.

Dr. Bledsoe, in his first article, thus arraigns the great doctor of the ancient Church:—

We arraign him, 1. Because he used "deceit and lies" in the service of the Church; because he advanced opinions he did not believe, and suppressed others he did believe, in order to confound and overwhelm the enemies of his own views of the truth. 2. Because he represented the eternal Father as a Jesuitical trickster, by whom the devil was outwitted and cheated in the awful transaction of the atonement. 3. Because he rejected St. Paul's glad Gospel of free salvation by faith alone, and adopted, in its place, the gloomy gospel and bondage of justification by works. In other words, because he rejected "the doctrine of a standing Church," and adopted in its place "the doctrine of a falling Church;" and thereby helped "the Catholic Church" down the awful declivity on which it was already descending, into all the darkness, misery, and manifold corruptions of the Middle Ages. 4. Because he pointed mankind, not to "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world," but to almsgiving as the means of attaining the forgiveness of sins. 5. Because he held and taught the High-Church, sacramentarian notion of baptismal regeneration, by which alone all souls, not even excepting those of new-born infants, are delivered from the everlasting torments of the second death. 6. Because he invented the dogma of original sin, in order to bolster up, and keep in countenance, that monstrous abortion of night and darkness. 7. Because he invented the scheme of predestination, by which a blind worship of the omnipotence of God is made to extinguish the glory of all his moral attributes, and put out the most glorious lights of his revealed word. 8. Because he crushed those by persecution whom he could not convince by argument; thus treading in the bloody footsteps of Saul of Tarsus, rather than in those of the meek, and lowly, and loving Jesus. In fine, because he was the forerunner, not of Christ, but of the Inquisition, with hell at his heels. And, 9. Because, by his great authority and influence with councils, he contrived to stamp all these detestable features on "all succeeding ages of the Church," till one greater than he—the Monk of Eisleben—arose to deliver the Church, in part at least, from the awful thralldom under which she had so long groaned and travailed in pain.—P. 59.

Dr. Bledsoe sustains the arraignment by a strong array of facts.

English Reviews.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, July, 1877. (London.)—1. The Origin and Growth of Episcopacy. 2. Baptism for the Dead. 3. Universal Restoration. 4. Michael Bruce and the Authorship of the Ode to the Cuckoo. 5. The Philistines. 6. The Sinai Covenant. 7. Daniel Deronda as a Sign of the Times. 8. Religious Life in Germany. 9. Review of Literature Bearing on Apologetics in the last Eighteen Months.

British Quarterly Review, July 2, 1877. (London.)—1. Divine Voices and Modern Thought. 2. The Athens of Thucydides. 3. Mr. Arnold on Butler. 4. The Ridsdale Judgment. 5. The Southern Slaves. 6. The Liberation Society.

London Quarterly Review, July, 1877. (New York.) — 1. The First Lord Abinger and the Bar. 2. Recent Discoveries in Art and Archæology in Rome. 3. Oxford Gossip in the Seventeeth Century. 4. Economic "Laws" and Economic Facts. 5. The Science of Electricity as applied in Peace and War. 6. New Guinea and Polynesia. 7. The War in the East. 8. The Ridsdale Judgment and the Priest in Absolution. 9. National Interests and National Morality.

Westminster Review, July, 1877. (New York.)—1. The Chartered Guilds of London. 2. Illicit Commissions. 3. Harriet Martineau. 4. The Present Education of Solicitors. 5. Old Gaelic Culture. 6. Successful Lawyers. 7. The Cradle of the Blue Nile. 8. The Eastern Question.

London Quarterly Review, July, 1877. (London.) — 1. The Original Elements of the English Constitution. 2. Russian Institutions. 3. The Life in Christ. 4. Biographical Literature. 5. Mr. Forman's Shelley. 6. George Whitefield. 7. Supernatural Religion.

On Mr. Darwin's two books in regard to cross-fertilization, an interesting notice is given, furnishing some important views of the present state of the teleological question :—

Both these books are not only of remarkable value, but full of what must be of the highest interest to thoughtful minds. The former is the formal statement of what has been repeatedly and with great force asserted by Mr. Darwin, which is, that there is a great repugnance in nature to the fertilization of plants by means of their own pollen; that cross-fertilization is essential to the successful preservation of a species or variety. The pollen of a given plant must not be suffered to become the fertilizing agent of its own seeds.

It is well known now that the equivalent of a sexual method of fecundation is found throughout the entire realm of biology—from the base to the apex of the whole organic series. The most lowly organized of nature's life-forms, as well as the most complex and gorgeous, depend for their continuity upon this. But among plants a thousand contrivances are found, exquisite in their adaptations, which are merely to avoid the evil arising from the pollen of a flower falling on its own stigmatic surface, and so effecting self-fertilization. Thus it frequently happens that the pollen is borne upon one flower, and the "pistil," or seed-casket, is in another. A common example of this is the willow. More striking still, the flowers bearing the pollen may grow on one plant, and the flowers bearing the stigmatic surface and the seed to be fertilized, are

borne upon another and wholly separate plant. This is the case with the hop. Now, it is manifest that the pollen, if it reach the stigmatic surfaces, must do so by some agency outside the plant itself. This is accomplished in nature on a large scale by the agency of wind. The common hazel is a good example. It flowers from January to March; that is at a time when few insects are on the wing, and when the winds are strong and gusty, and before the foliage leaves have opened to prevent their action. The flowers are of two kinds—catkins, which are simply pollen-bearing flowers, and seed-bearing flowers crowned with tinted filaments moistened with a viscid fluid, which, as the air rushes past, laden with the exquisitely delicate pollen grains, catches by its viscidity many of these, and fertilization is secured.

The quantity of pollen thus discharged is one of the comparatively few extravagances of nature. But if a yew-tree in a pollen-bearing state be shaken, the pollen rises like a dense smoke; and the American lakes, which adjoin the vast pine woods, are, at the pollen-yielding season, covered with a rich yellow layer of simply wasted pollen.

But in the majority of plants, the structure of the pollen, or the relative arrangement of stamens and pistils, with many other conditions, renders fertilization by wind impossible; and it is here that insect agency becomes so indispensable and fraught with adaptation. Every one has observed how assiduously flowers are visited by insects. They are attracted by two things—scent and color; and these are both guides to the honey or nectar of which the insect is in search. This honey is so placed in an immense proportion of the flowers of the globe that, by a thousand entrancing adaptations, the insect in reaching it must carry away the pollen from one flower, and from its exquisitely arranged position deposit it on the stigmatic surface of another of the same species. This explains how it is that in the majority of cases richly-scented flowers are not highly colored or gorgeously decorated—either scent *or* color may be a guide to the hungry insect. And, for the same reason, flowers that bloom at night are very pale, or white.

Now, one of the means by which flowers are prevented from effecting their own fertilization is, that when the pollen is ripe and ejected, the stigmatic surface of the same flower is *not* ripe: that is, is not covered with its viscid secretion, and therefore the pollen will not adhere, and no result can follow. Clearly, therefore, unless such a flower receive pollen in some way when its stigmatic surface is ripe, its seed will never be fertilized.

A beautiful instance of how this is effected is seen in the southern English wild flower known as the Birthwort. It is a trumpet-shaped flower, with its smaller end fastened to a small hollow ball. Within this latter are to be found the anthers with their pollen and the stigmatic surfaces of the pistils. The tube of the flowers is small, and will only admit small insects. The nectar is in the ball at the bottom. The tube is lined with *stiff hairs*, set at an angle with the sides of the tube, and pointing downward. They

are quite stiff, but leave just opening enough for the passage *downward* of a small insect. It enters, let us suppose, laden with pollen from another flower. The stigmatic surface, when the flower is in this condition, is ripe; its viscid surface consequently receives the pollen, which adheres to it as the insect creeps over it in search of nectar. But, having satisfied itself, on seeking exit from the flower the insect finds itself a prisoner! The bristle-like points directed downward admitted of its ingress, but their position makes egress impossible! Hence, the tiny prisoner must content himself with the honey which he finds in this particular flower. Meanwhile, the pollen brought by the insect has done its work; the stigma dries and withers, and the anthers open and discharge their pollen, with which of necessity the insect is at once charged. At the same time the needle-like hairs *dry up* and wither away, and the insect can escape to bear the pollen of this flower to another. To complete the whole, a sort of flap at the top of the tube of this flower falls down and closes the entrance from future ingress.

In the common pink, thyme, and many others, the same method, with less complex or varying details, is adopted. In the cross-leaved heath, the most delicate mechanical contrivance is adopted to compel the bee, in getting at the nectar, to open the pollen box, that the dust may fall where of necessity it must come into contact with the stigma of the next flower. While in instances in which self-fertilization is adopted—quite the exception—the method by which this is effected only intensifies the meaning, and gives additional meaning to the delicate contrivances by which it is sought to be avoided.

In the common sage, again, the mechanical adaptations by which the visiting bee is made to secure the cross-fertilization of the plant, while it obtains the honey which it seeks, are simply mechanical refinements of the highest order.

To the development of the wonders which this subject discloses the former of these books is devoted; and we need scarcely say that the work is done as no other could have done it.

The second book, by the same gifted author, is written to explain in special detail the absolute perfection which the agency of insects in the fertilization of *orchids* has reached. The mutual adaptations are simply entrancing. Even in the common purple orchis of our meadows this is abundantly seen. Like the whole family, it has a "spur," in which the honey is secreted; at the entrance of this spur the pollen masses are fixed. They are set in a very delicate membrane, which breaks on the slightest touch. When it is broken, the bases of these pollen masses are exposed, and these are covered with a viscid fluid. The result is, that the insect, alighting on the lip of the flower, pushes its proboscis down the spur, breaks the delicate membrane, and exposes the viscid discs of the pollen masses, which immediately stick to the trunk, and in a few seconds harden—firmly fixed to this part of the insect. But if they were to harden, and become glued at right angles to the trunk or proboscis, the insect could not get the trunk into the next flower.

The result is, that in hardening the pollen masses *bend down*, so as to be nearly horizontal with the trunk. Now, in going to the next flower, the laden proboscis has to push its way down past the stigmatic surfaces, and the result is that the pollen is wiped off and the flower fertilized.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to do justice to this beautiful subject: the contrivances are so manifold: the adaptations so refined and palpable. But we may note that in the Catasetums—a group of foreign orchids—the complexity of contrivance is only rivaled by the precision with which the end is secured. The insect creeps into the flower and seeks the nectar. In doing so it must touch a spur; this is sensitive in so high a degree that when it is touched it causes the rupture of a delicate membrane, which restrains an elastic pollen mass: this at once springs out with immense force, and strikes the insect with a gummy surface or disc. The result is, that it adheres; and the insect flies away, startled, to seek another flower; and in doing so wipes the pollen off on to the surface that requires it.

But few things are more marvelous than the fact that there is a wonderful orchid known as *Angræum sesquipedale*, which has a spur—not three-quarters of an inch, but actually from eleven to twelve inches in length. At the base of these wonderful spurs there is an inch and a half of honey. This could only be for the attraction and access of insects. But no insect could be found at the time with so enormous a proboscis as to reach down to this nectar. But, said Mr. Darwin, in effect, there must *be* such an insect, or the plant must speedily perish. And the result is, that careful search has brought it to light. Herr Fritz Müller has found the very insect—sent home its proboscis, which is no less than eleven inches long, and a drawing of which appeared some time since in "Nature," taken from an original photograph.

Now, it is impossible for the student of theology to be unmoved by such wonderful evidences of *present adaptation* as are disclosed by these researches. Paley would have, indeed, found them to be priceless treasures—irresistible witnesses. But we may query much if Paley's argument *as it now stands* would ever have been given to the world, if these and kindred facts had been known to him. To affirm that any set of adaptations, any ground of adjustments, leading up to a well-defined and exquisitely accomplished end, was *the* purpose for which it was all devised, is now known to be an unwarrantable assumption. The facts of nature forbid it. Variation is a primal law of nature. There was a time when, in the vast majority of cases, it could be affirmed that *present* adaptations did not exist. There may be, in the future, a time when again they shall be succeeded by others. There is no "final cause" within *our* ken. But there *is* a sublime capacity in nature to adjust itself to varying conditions, and amid all variations to preserve concurrent adaptation—to balance the details of design to the end to be accomplished throughout all vicissitudes. And thus, instead of the device of an artificer, conceived and completed—destined to be that and

nothing else—the great Creator has vested vital forms not only with a rigid precision of adjustment and adaptation to present circumstances, but with an elastic power of gradual *re-adaptation* to new and varying conditions, which makes designs in nature not merely a thing that *has been*, but a thing that is; and thus indicates the presence and constant action of a great unsearchable, but benevolent Spirit.—Pp. 523–527.

In the decidedly brilliant article on Tyerman's Whitefield we find the following statement touching Wesley's personal non-profession of entire sanctification :—

Of early follies Wesley had very few to confess, and he nowhere enters into much detail as to his early life. He does not often speak of his religious experience, but when he does, how guarded are his expressions, and how reverent his tone! The world might deride his pretensions, but it could not gainsay the wisdom and spirit with which they were set forth. Wesley commended the simplicity of his friend's productions, but he took care not to follow his example. He proclaimed a higher standard of spiritual privileges than his fellow Whitefield, but *he never formally professed to have attained it.* This reserve was not so much prudence or policy, as a necessity of nature, rather deepened than otherwise by culture and experience. Religious conference with him had its times and seasons: he did not in this respect take the whole world for his parish.—Page 412.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1877.—1. The Life and Correspondence of Kleber. 2. The Sibylline Books. 3. Indian Famines. 4. Copernicus in Italy. 5. North-Country Naturalists. 6. Metropolitan Medical Relief. 7. Venice Defended. 8. The England of Elizabeth. 9. Geffcken on Church and State. 10. The Russians in Asia Minor.

The following extract from Article VIII gives a significant account of

THE GLORY, DECLINE, AND FATE OF THE ENGLISH YEOMANRY

Besides the merchants there were yeomen in England, a class which will soon be as extinct among us as the woolly-haired rhinoceros and the cave bear of our prehistoric period. A yeoman, according to Harrison, was "a freeborne Englishman who could spend of his owne free land in yearlie revenue six pounds." They lived well and worked hard, and made money by the increased price paid for their produce. So that these little farmers, too, had a share in the national advancement, and were able to buy out poor gentlemen, and, educating their sons at schools and universities, so made them gentlemen, and left them capital. "These were they," says Harrison with honest pride, "that in times past made all France afraid.' And albeit they be not called 'Master' as gentlemen are"—like Master Shallow—" or 'Sir' as to knights appertaineth"—like Sir John Falstaff—"but onelie 'John' and

> 'Thomas,' yet have they been founde to have doone verie good service; and the kings of England, in foughten battles, were woont to remaine among them, who were their footmen, as the French kings did amongst their horsemen; the prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did consist." Such were the yeomen of Harrison's time, worthy sons of those who had conquered at Cressy, Agincourt, and Flodden; men who afterwards went with Sidney and the Veres and Ogle to the Low Countries, who steadily withstood the Spaniards at Nieuport, and defied the leaguer of Ostend. As Cromwell's Ironsides they broke the power of Charles and his cavaliers, and swarmed up to London with Monk when the second Charles came to what he called his own again. When England began to maintain a regular standing army, and military service was no longer national but mercenary, we do not find the yeomen so constant to the wars. But their arms were felt at Landen and Neerwinden under William of Orange, and they helped to win the wonderful series of victories which adorn the career of Marlborough. Perhaps there were still a few of them at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and at Culloden the Butcher Cumberland may have led some against the Highland clans. Wellington's glorious campaigns were fought and his victories won by armies molded out of such vile materials, that they justified the remark that a good general can make a soldier out of any thing. Certainly there were few yeomen in his ranks. In these modern times if we ask for the English yeoman and what has become of him, the answer must be a reference to those Doomsday-books of the three kingdoms which tell the fatal truth that the land of Great Britain and Ireland has passed into the possession of a few thousand owners, who, if they were all mustered, would not make up one of the *corps d'armée* of Germany or France. Things, of course, might be worse even than this, and we may still come to that worse condition. We remember that Sparta, the soldier-state when ancient Greece was Greece indeed, had passed, when the Romans took possession of it, into the hands of one or two heiresses.—Pp. 106, 107.

This brief history illustrates the fearful tendency of our modern civilization to concentration of power, the enthronement of King MONOPOLY. Before our civil war it was fast growing in the great landed estates of leading slave-holders. It now appears incarnated in the four railroad monarchs of our Northern States. And our Southern brethren are audibly calling for a similar incarnation in their own section.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. TH. BRIEGER, Professor of Theology at Marburg. Vol. II. First Number—1. RITSCHL, Prolegomena for a History of Pietism. 2. A. HARNACK, The Recent Literature (from January, 1876, to April, 1877) on the History of the Church until the Council of Nice. 3. K. WIESELER, The People of the Galatians in the Institutions of Gajus. 4. Epistolæ Reformatorum. 5. SCHAEFER, A Contribution to the History of the Conversions of Protestant Princes to the Church of Rome.

Professor Harrack continues in this number the very valuable article on the recent literature relating to Church history. An acquaintance with these articles is almost indispensable for any one who desires to keep up his knowledge of this department of Theological literature. Many of the works reviewed in his article have already been mentioned in the *Methodist Quarterly Review.* The article quotes some new essays on the controversy whether Peter has ever been in Rome. The number of those who deny this has been strongly reinforced by Prof. Lipsius, who, in a long article in the *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie*, (1876, pp. 561–645,) undertakes to refute the arguments which have recently been adduced by Hilgenfeld and Joh. Delitzsch in behalf of those who assume the presence of Peter in Rome. The view of this latter has, on the other hand, been supported by Prof. Weizsäcker in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie.*

The controversy whether the nationality of the Galatians in Asia Minor was Celtic or German, on which we reported in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, 1876, also continues to call out a number of essays and articles on this tribe in Germany and France. Perrot, in an article, entitled, "De la Disparition de la Langue Gauloise en Galatie," (in the *Mem. d'Archéologie, d'épigraphie, et d'Histoire*, Paris, 1875,) tries to show that this Celtic language had become extinct in Galatia long before Jerome. Bertrand, in several articles in the *Revue Archeologique*, (1875 and 1876,) finds a distinction between Celts and Galatians, while another French writer in the same periodical (*Revue Archeo.*, 1875) maintains the identity of Celts, Gauls, and Galatians. In Germany, the foremost champion of the German nationality of the Galatians, Prof. Wieseler, has not been discouraged by the fact that most German writers on the subject are willing to acknowledge the Celtic nationality; but he has

written in defense of his views a new book entitled, "The German Nationality of the Galatians of Asia Minor; a contribution to the history of the Germans, Celts, and Galatians, and their names," (*Die Deutsche Nationälität der Galater.* Gutersloh, 1877.) The learning and thoroughness of Prof. Wieseler is recognized by all German writers; but Prof. Harnack thinks he has not made out a good case, and that the defenders of the Celtic nationality of the Galatians seem to have the advantage.

No part of the recent literature on the ancient history of the Church is so copious as that on the apostolical Fathers. This is, to some extent, owing to the discovery and edition of the complete text of the two epistles of Clemens Romanus, by the Metropolitan Bryennios in Serre, Macedonia. Prof. Harnack enumerates and reviews not only all the recent works which have been called forth by this literary discovery, but also all the important articles in the theological periodicals of Germany, France, England, and other countries.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. 1877. Fourth Number.)—*Essays:* 1. HERING, Luther's First Lectures as Testimonials of his Doctrines and his Life. 2. SCHMIDT, On Galatians, ii, 14–21. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. BAUR, Christianity and School. *Reviews:* 1. BAUDISSIN, Essays on the History of the Semitic Religions, reviewed by RÖSCH. 2. ZSCHIMMER, Henke's Posthumous Lectures, reviewed by JACOBI.

In his article on Christianity and School, Professor G. Baur discusses the importance which Christianity and the Evangelical Church have for popular education and the school. He begins with the proposition that Christianity, in its inmost essence, is an educational institution in the highest sense of the word. Christianity is based upon the belief in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of mankind. Redemption includes deliverance from error and superstition as well as from sin, and Christianity aims no less at enlightening the intellect than at strengthening the will. How high an opinion the ancient Church fathers had of the educational functions of Christianity appears from the fact that they called Christ ϑεῖος παιδαγωγός, the divine educator. The educational systems of Greece and Rome were in direct opposition to Christianity, and the education of whole nations by the sole influence of Christianity did not begin until the Germanic nations entered into the foreground of the world's history. They had at that time no educational system

which had to be overcome by Christianity; but they received from the Christian Church their higher education and their political organization. One of the greatest historians of Germany, Dahlmann, says on this subject: "Modern Europe has received all higher education, and especially its progress in the organization of States, through Christianity. The question is not whether the one or the other truth and enlightenment might not have reached the Germanic nations through some other source also. The giver deserves thanks, and the receiver does not free himself from the duty of gratitude by the consideration that some one else might, also, at length have helped him. ' Christian antiquity has created limbs of our national existence which we could not do without even if we would." The educational power of Christianity was greatly neutralized by the hierarchical organizations of the Church of the Middle Ages, which, in order to preserve its absolute rule, could not favor an education of the whole people for independence. A new epoch in the educational agency of Christianity begins with the Reformation, and the history of educational progress from that time is almost identical with the history of the evangelical Church. Many statistical facts are quoted by the author to show that generally the Protestant nations rank highest, and the Roman Catholic nations lowest, in the scale of popular education. After tracing briefly the history of the educational influence of Christianity, the author discusses the relation of the school to State and Church. Like the majority of German theologians, he favors the principle of denominational schools. After previously examining and combating the views, 1. Of those who would exclude religious instruction from school altogether; 2. Of those who would teach the general tenets of religion, but not those of any particular denomination; 3. Of those who would provide religious instruction for the children of each sect, but, with this exception, would make the remainder of school instruction undenominational, he briefly states his views of the denominational school.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) March, 1877.—1. **PUAUX**, Paris and Montauban, (Second Article.) 2. **REY**, John Stuart Mill, (Third Article.) 3. **ALBRESPY**, Rationalistic Sermon on Reformation Day.

April.—1. **STAFFER**, Primitive Man and his Origin. 2. **RUFFET**, Bernardino Ochino of Sienna.

May.—1. **BONIFAZ**, Early Protestant Preaching. 2. **RUFFET**, Bernardino Ochino of Sienna, (Second Article.) 3. **VORAZ**, On the Lay Character of Public Instruction.

June.—1. **REY**, John Stuart Mill, (conclusion.) 2. **STAFFER**, Abélard, a posthumous play by A. de Remusat.

July.—1. Installation of the Faculty of Protestant Theology of Paris, and the Addresses by Professors **LICHTENBERGER** and **MATTER**. 2. **ROLLER**, Theological Faculties. 3. **PUAUX**, Daniel Encontre.

August.—1. **PUAUX**, Daniel Encontre, (Second Article.) 2. **CADENE**, Massimo d'Azeglio and Italian Society.

The *Revue Chretienne*, as well as other Protestant papers of France, have given for some months great prominence to the discussion of the question of theological faculties, and especially to the proposed establishment of a faculty of Protestant theology at Paris. Before the war between France and Germany the Protestants of France had two theological faculties, one for the Reformed Church at Montauban, and one for the Lutheran Church at Strasbourg. By the annexation of Alsace to Germany the faculty of Strasbourg was lost to France, and the French Lutherans, in particular, were deprived of their only theological school. As the immense majority of the Lutheran congregations was situated in Alsace and Lorraine, the loss of these provinces for France involved the reduction of the Lutheran Church to very small dimensions. It was, nevertheless, agreed on all sides that the Lutheran Church, having the character of one of the State Churches, must retain a theological school, and the re-establishment of the late faculty of Strasbourg at some French town was, therefore, demanded by the Protestants and at once contemplated by the Government. Several reasons were adduced for locating it at Paris, for there, after the loss of Alsace, the Lutheran Church has now its stronghold; and in Paris, the grand center of French scholarship and literature, the young theologians, it was thought, would have an opportunity, not to be found anywhere else, to fully acquaint themselves with the present condition of literature and science. The latter reason awakened a desire

among many leading men of the Reformed Church to have likewise a theological school at Paris. Different propositions were made. Some desired the transfer of the faculty of Montauban to Paris, where it could render much greater services to the Church than in a provincial town like Montauban. Others urged the establishment in Paris of an additional theological school, and as the denominational landmarks which separate the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches are not so marked in France as in many other countries, the establishment of a mixed school containing chairs for both the Reformed and the Lutheran Church was generally commended by this party. Objections against the establishment of a school at Paris were raised on the ground that life in a city like Paris, while promotive of the scholarship, might prove injurious to the piety of theological students. Finally the transfer of the school at Montauban to Montpellier has been urged from reasons similar to those adduced in behalf of establishing a second school at Paris, for Montpellier, like Paris, is the seat of several faculties, and would afford to the students of Protestant theology similar advantages of university life as Paris.

From what has been said of the views of those who advocate the transfer of the school of Montauban to Montpellier, and the establishment of a new school at Paris, it may be inferred that they must have hailed with delight the project of M. Waddington, the late minister of public instruction, to reconstitute the former French universities. France is at present the only country in Europe which has no complete universities containing all the usual faculties, but instead it has five classes of faculties independent of each other; namely, for 1, theology; 2, law; 3, medicine; 4, mathematics and natural science (*facultés de sciences;*) and 5, literature, or philosophical, historical, and philological science, (*facultés de lettres.*) There were in 1876 six faculties of theology, (five Roman Catholic and one Protestant, at Montauban;) twelve for law; sixteen for medicine; fifteen for science; fifteen for literature. Only Paris, Bordeaux, and Lyons have all the five faculties; Montpellier has four; Montauban only one. This explains why so many friends of theological science desire the transfer of the school of Montauban to Montpellier, or the establishment of a new school at Paris. The restoration of complete universities in

France had been strongly urged by one of the greatest French educators, M. Cousin, in his work on the "Condition of Public Instruction in Germany." (*Etat de l'Instruction publique en Allemagne.*) He wished the government to "substitute for these poor provincial faculties, which every-where are languishing and dying, some great scientific centers, few in number, but well located, which would shed around a strong light—some complete universities, as in Germany—a union of the five French faculties, affording to each other a mutual support, a mutual light, a mutual impulse." M. Waddington was contemplating the realization of this scheme when the liberal ministry, of which he was a member, was forced by the attitude of the illiberal president of the French republic to resign.

One work, however, in which M. Waddington as a Protestant had taken the greatest interest, was, soon after his resignation, completed by his successor. The faculty of Protestant theology at Paris, which is to take the place of the former faculty at Strasbourg, was opened on June 1, under the presidency of M. Mounier, the president of the French Academy. An address was made by Professor Lichtenberger, the dean of the faculty, and an introductory lecture given by M. Matter, professor of dogmatic theology. The faculty consists of two sections, one called the theological and the other the preparatory section. At the time of its opening four professors had been appointed, Sabatier, Matter, Lichtenberger, and Berger, all favorably known as authors of theological works. Two chairs had yet to be filled. The course of studies in this theological section comprises three years. During the first two years the students are required to attend fifteen lectures a week, during the last year ten. The number of lectures to be attended by the students of the preparatory section is likewise fifteen. The requisite number of lectures for the students of both sections may embrace some lectures of other faculties or other literary institutions. In order to be admitted to the preparatory section, one must be a *bachelier ès lettres*, or, at least, have presented himself for the second half of the studies requisite for the baccalaureate. In order to be admitted to the examination, called *ascension en theologie*, (promotion to the theological section,) one must have studied at least one year in the preparatory section. The written papers to be presented will

comprise a philosophical essay, a Greek version, a German or English version. The oral examination will refer to the languages of the Old and New Testaments, the history of ancient and modern philosophy, reading of the Latin and Greek fathers, and of the German authors who will be designated at the beginning of each year. The examinations take place three times a year, on Easter, and at the beginning and close of the school year. The students of the preparatory class will be required to write an essay on a subject indicated by the faculty, which will count at the examination for promotion to the theological section. The students coming from the Protestant faculties of Geneva and Montauban will be examined in the authors studied by them during the last year of their attendance at these faculties. The requisites for the theological baccalaureate consist of six essays and an oral examination, embracing dogmatic theology, ethics, exegesis of the Old and the New Testaments, Church history, and practical theology. Two sermons will be demanded independently of the printed thesis. The examination for licentiate of theology will, besides the two French and Latin theses, embrace three subjects to be selected by the candidate from among the six which have just been mentioned in connection with the examination for the baccalaureate. The examination will be composed of two papers on each of the three subjects, the one on a written subject, the other on a Hebrew, Greek, Latin, or German text to be selected by the faculty. For the degree of doctor only one French thesis on a general subject is required. The library of the faculty is open every day from 9 to 12 A. M. and 2 to 5 P. M.; the students have to pay ten francs a year for its use.

ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

THESE English colonies are growing so rapidly that their figures begin to tell in statistical summaries. A hundred years have not yet elapsed since the English deported and settled there the first white criminals. In 1877 the total population already exceeded two and a half millions. The rate of the progress of population has been much more rapid than in the United States. While the population of the United States has

increased during forty years (1830–1870) from 12,870,000 to 38,560,000, or about 300 per cent., that of Australia and New Zealand has during the same time risen from 300,000 to 2,000,000, or nearly 700 per cent. The vast resources of the country make the continuance of a large rate of increase of population almost certain, and foreshadow the time when it will occupy a conspicuous place among the most populous countries of the globe.

In anticipation of this point, it is of importance to establish the fact that the whole population of Australia is almost exclusively of Teutonic origin, and that the Australian empire will rank, by the side of England, the United States, and Germany, among the great representatives of the Teutonic race. As its only national language is now and will be in future the English, it will aid materially in establishing forever the ascendancy of English as the most widely spoken language of the globe. For Protestants it is a special interest to know that Protestantism has a large majority among the people of these colonies, and that while in Europe and America the Roman Catholic Church numerically prevails, the Protestant character of Australia and New Zealand appears to be fully secured.

The following table contains the chief results of the censuses of the several Australian colonies, taken in 1870 and 1871:—*

Colonies.	Protestant.	Rom. Cath.	Jews.	Oth'r Relig.	Pagan.	Not declared.
New South Wales	339,392	147,627	2,395	1,166	7,455	5,946
Victoria	517,541	170,952	3,571	6,289	17,650	15,515
South Australia..	146,777	28,668	435	508	....	9,238
Western Australia	17,456	7,118	62	149	....	....
Queensland	80,475	31,822	291	588	3,188	3,740
Tasmania	74,242	22,091	232	2,763	....	....
New Zealand....	206,701	35,648	1,262	678	2,612	9,492
Total	1,382,584	443,926	8,248	12,141	30,905	43,931

Among the 43,900 persons registered in the last column there were 24,000 who objected to state their religion "from conscientious scruples," (9,965 in Victoria, 5,436 in South Australia, 8,630 in New Zealand.) The remainder of 20,000 is made up of persons whose declaration could not be verified, and is partly explained by discrepancies which occur in every census.

The column "other religions" embraces minor sects no further specified—Mohammedans, Mormons, (97 in Victoria, 107 in New Zealand,) those who declared that they belonged to "no denomination," (2,737 in Victoria, 139 in Western Australia, 195 in New Zealand,) and, finally, those who declared to have no religion, (2,150 in Victoria, 27 in New Zealand.)

The Pagans are chiefly represented by Chinese settlers in the gold districts. Among the 30,000 Chinese there are no more than about thirty

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* We take this table from an article on Australia in the new edition of Herzog's Theological Cyclopedia, by Dr. H. Wagner, the editor of the "Gotha Almanac," and associate editor of the statistical periodical, "Die Bevölkerung der Erde," to which frequent reference has been made in our articles.

or forty females. The number of converts to Christianity is only about a few dozens. The Jews nowhere exceed one and a half per cent. of the total population.

The proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants does not materially differ in the several colonies. The Roman Catholics formed in New South Wales, 29.3 per cent. of the total population; in Western Australia, 28.4 per cent.; in Queensland, 26.5 per cent.; in Victoria, 23.4 per cent.; in Tasmania, 22.2 per cent.; in South Australia, 15.4 per cent.; in New Zealand, 13.9 per cent. The greater or lesser per centage of Roman Catholics in the several colonies keeps pace with the per centage of persons of Irish descent.

The following table, which exhibits the relative per centage of persons born in Great Britain (England, Wales, Scotland) and in Ireland, proves this. In 1871 there were of every one hundred natives of the United Kingdom:—

In the Colonies.	Born in		In the Colonies.	Born in	
	Gt. Brit'n.	Ireland.		Gt. Brit'n.	Ireland.
Queensland..........	62	38	Victoria............	70	30
New South Wales....	64	36	New Zealand	78	22
Western Australia....	69	31	South Australia	80	21

The following table exhibits the statistics of the principal divisions of Protestantism:—

Colonies.	Episcopalian.	Presbyterian.	Wesleyan.	Congregationalist.	Baptist.	Lutheran.	All others.
N. South Wales.	231,792	49,122	39,566	9,253	4,151	....	5,508
Victoria	257,835	112,983	94,220	18,191	16,311	10,559	7,442
South Australia.	50,849	13,371	43,403	7,969	8,731	15,412	7,042
West. Australia.	14,619	529	1,374	882	1	....	51
Queensland	43,764	15,373	7,206	2,647	2,897	8,588	....
Tasmania	53,047	9,064	7.187	3,931	9331	....	82
New Zealand ...	107,241	63,624	22,004	3,941	4,732	2,341	2,818
Total........	759,147	264,066	214,960	46,814	37,754	36,900	22,943

It appears from this table that the Anglican Church is the leading denomination in each of the colonies. The Presbyterians are the second largest denomination in five colonies; in South Australia they are exceeded in number by the Wesleyans and the Lutherans, and in Western Australia by the Wesleyans and the Congregationalists. The Wesleyans are the second largest denomination in South Australia and in Western Australia, and rank third in all the others. The united membership of Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists constitute 90 per cent. of the total Protestant population. The following table gives the percentage of Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Wesleyans in the total Protestant population of each of the colonies:—

Colonies.	Anglicans.	Presbyterians.	Wesleyans.	Colonies.	Anglicans.	Presbyterians.	Wesleyans.
Western Australia..	83·6	3·0	8·0	New Zealand	51·9	30·0	10·6
Tasmania..........	71·5	12·2	9·7	Victoria..........	49·8	21·8	18·2
New South Wales ..	68·4	14·5	11·7	South Australia ...	34·6	9·2	29·6
Queensland........	54·4	19·1	8·9				

The Anglican Church had in 1877 sixteen dioceses, namely: In New South Wales, the dioceses of Sydney, Goulburn, Grafton and Armidale, Newcastle, Bathurst; in Victoria, Melbourne; in Queensland, Brisbane; in South Australia, Adelaide; in Western Australia, Perth; in Tasmania, the diocese of Tasmania; in New Zealand, Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Christ Church, Waiapu, Dunedin. The bishop of Sydney has the title of Metropolitan of Australia.

The Roman Catholic Church sent the first priest to Australia in 1818. The first vicarate apostolic was established in 1835. The first establishment of regular dioceses took place in 1842, when Pope Gregory XVI. appointed an archbishop of Sydney and bishops of Adelaide and Hobarton. In 1874 a second archbishopric was erected at Melbourne, to which belong five suffragan sees, Ballarat, Sandhurst, Adelaide, Perth, Hobarton; while the Archbishop of Sydney retains six suffragans, Bathurst, Maitland, Goulburn, Armidale, Brisbane, Port Victoria. In addition to these thirteen archdioceses and dioceses on the Australian continent there are three dioceses in New Zealand, at Auckland, Wellington, and Dunedin.

As the percentage of large religious denominations may be expected to remain nearly if not wholly stationary, we can calculate with a high degree of probability the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics at the time of the latest census or enumeration. The following table contains the population of each colony in 1875 or 1876, the percentage of Protestants and Roman Catholics at the time when the last religious census was taken, (1870 or 1871,) and a calculation of what the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics would amount to in 1875 or 1876, in case the percentage of both would remain about the same:—

Colonies.	Last Census, or Calculation.	Total Population.	Protestant.		Roman Catholic.	
			Per Cent.	Estimate.	Per Cent.	Estimate.
New South Wales..	Dec. 31, 1875	606,662	67·5	410.000	29·3	178,000
Victoria...........	" "	823,272	70·9	584,000	23·4	193,000
South Australia....	Mar. 26, 1876	213,271	77·7	166,000	15·4	33,000
Western Australia..	Dec. 31, 1875	26,709	68·0	18,000	28·4	8,000
Queensland.........	May 1, 1876	173,180	66·6	115,000	26·5	46,000
Tasmania...........	Dec. 31, 1875	103,663	74·7	78,000	22·2	23,000
New Zealand......	" "	375,856	70·4	267,000	13·9	52,000
Total 1875, 1876...............		2,322,603	74·4	1,638,000	22·9	533,000

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

The "History of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church," by E. de Pressensé, has long taken its place among the standard works of the Protestant world on Church history. Up to the end of 1876 three divisions, making five volumes, had appeared. The first division, containing vols. i and ii, treats of the "Apostolic Age;" the second, (vols.

iii and iv,) of "The great Struggle of Christianity against Paganism—The Martyrs and Apologists;" the third, (vol. v,) of "The History of Christian Doctrines." The fourth division, constituting the sixth volume, has recently been published. It is entitled "Ecclesiastical, Religious, and Moral Life of the Christians in the Second and Third Centuries," (*La Vie Ecclesiastique, Rèligieuse et Morale des Chrètiens au Deuxième et Troisième Siècles.* Paris, 1877. New York: F. W. Christern,) and is divided, as the title-page indicates, into three books, the first of which is devoted to the ecclesiastical life, and treats of the growth of the Church, catechumens, and baptism; the organization of the Church authorities; Church discipline; the mutual relations of the Churches to each other; the religious crisis in the third century—its general character and its issue at Alexandria; the crisis at Rome, and the ecclesiastical crisis at the time of Cyprian. The second book refers to the private and public worship of the Church, and contains six chapters: 1. The first transformation of the primitive worship; 2. Family worship; 3. The days and edifices devoted to public worship; 4. Character and transformation of public worship during the second and third centuries; 5. Archæology of public worship, public prayer, sacred chant and reading of the holy writ, sermons; 6. Celebration of a public worship at Alexandria at the time of Origen. The third book, headed "The Moral Life of the Christians," treats of, 1. The principle of moral reforms of the Church in the face of the attempts of social renovation in the Roman Empire; 2. Christianity and the family; 3. Christianity and slavery; 4. Christianity in its relations to the State; 5. Christianity and social life; 6. Christianity and Asceticism; 7. The Christianity of the Catacombs.

Like the former volumes, also, the present will appear at once in an English and a German translation. Several chapters had previously been published as articles in the *Revue Chrétienne*, and have been noticed in our review of that periodical. We know of no Church historian who combines to a higher degree than Pressensé thoroughness and scholarship with brilliancy and elegance of style, and his works, therefore, are as interesting as they are instructive. In what esteem he is held by the literary authorities of France may be seen from the fact that the second division of this Church history has received a prize from the highest literary tribunal in France, the French Academy. We cannot recommend the present volume more highly than by saying that it is in every respect equal to the best that Pressensé has written before.

A very valuable addition to the literature of cyclopedias has just been made by J. Vapereau, the editor of the well-known *Dictionnaire des Contemporains.* He has completed a *Dictionnaire Universel des Littératures*, (Paris, 1877; New York: F. W. Christern,) which, in one volume of 2096 pages, treats, 1, of authors (about eight thousand) and their works; 2, of anonymous, collective, and national works; 3, different styles of literature: 4, history of literature, literary facts and institutions; 5, literary esthetics; 6, prosody; 7, linguistics and grammar; 8, bibliography. The book is the fruit of more than fifteen years' labor, and, as might be

expected from the well-known reputation of M. Vapereau and his experience in cyclopedic works, it contains a very large amount of interesting material. M. Vapereau has a happy talent of condensing many important facts into a small compass, and this dictionary is really the repository of much valuable information which it will be difficult to find even in the large general cyclopedias. This may especially be said of the very valuable department of anonymous, collective, and national works, to which greater prominence is given than in most other cyclopedias. Although the work is not of a theological character, it abounds in interesting theological articles. We have noticed a number of omissions and some inaccuracies in articles relating to American affairs, but no one who is familiar with cyclopedias will on that account conceive an unfavorable opinion of the book; for imperfections of this kind are common to all cyclopedias. On the whole, this work contains so large a number of valuable articles, especially on the literature of France, that we can heartily recommend it.

ART. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Systematic Theology. By MINER RAYMOND, D.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. Two vols., 8vo., pp. 534. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1877.

These fine volumes, coming with little pre-announcement from our Western Publishing House, are a pleasant surprise. That Dr. Raymond was competent to furnish an able Systematic Theology we were well aware, but had no notice that he had so imminent a purpose, or that he would come upon us in such magnitude and momentum. Yet the magnitude is largely due to the stately print, broad leads, and liberal margins so handsomely furnished by the publishers. Compressed into the close print of our Commentary, the work would be a respectable duodecimo. But how smoothly one can run over the magnificent pages! How rapid our progress; and with what velocity are we becoming a great theologian as we read! And, then, the author's own style rushes on in an impetuous yet transparent current, and it is wonderful with what dispatch a row of false dogmas is knocked down and a true system built up.

A gracefully written Introduction, by Dr. Curry, gives a brief survey of our past theological history as a Church. We think his survey leaves too decided a blank in its account of our theological text-books previous to Watson. Wesley intended his ser-

mons to be a "Theological System;" and Fletcher's Works, together with our Doctrinal Tracts, all early republished in this country, and deposited in the itinerant saddle-bags, formed a noble body of divinity; rendering the earlier generations of Methodist preachers in many respects better theologians than our younger ministers of the last forty years. We, moreover, cannot see why the distinctive phrase "*evangelical* Arminianism" should be used in this Introduction any more than *evangelical* Calvinism; for Arminius was as evangelical as Calvin, and there is as much unevangelical Calvinism as unevangelical Arminianism. Nor does it seem to us quite accurate to say, that as to "the character and work of the Holy Spirit there is really no difference" between Methodists and Calvinists, when we recollect how strongly Wesley emphasized and Calvinists denied both the witnessing office of the Spirit and the extent of his sanctifying work.

Dr. Raymond's style is fresh, free, copious, abounding in full, cumulative periods, sometimes with sentences rolling rapidly over a whole page and more. It is in a strain of almost uninterrupted *oratory* from end to end. His expositions consist not in exact incisive lines, but in a bold current; elucidating rather by successive touches than by precise statements. We see the true shaping of doctrines in the symmetry of the entire representation. The great outline of his system is true to the Wesley-Arminian theology; presenting that theology in its clearest, most modern, and most American aspects. As a New Englander, he owes some of the clearness of his distinctions to the discussions among the different classes of Calvinisms in New England; and far more to the contemporaneous discussions of our Wesleyan New Englanders, whose chief was Wilbur Fisk. The animated style of Dr. Raymond's work, its moderate compass, its avoidance of overmuch scholastic erudition, its clearness and trueness to the structure of our theology, render the work very properly a "popular theology," and adapt it, as intended, to pupils in theology, to intelligent laymen, to our sub-pastors, and Sabbath-school teachers.

The structure of the work accords with the usual order of topics in systematic theologies. The first volume is occupied with proofs of the reality of revelation, and of the existence and nature of God. The second treats of the Scripture doctrines of man's fall and his redemption, and the finalities of human destiny. A third volume will discuss Christian ethics and institutions.

In his anthropology Dr. Raymond takes very uncompromising ground against the genetic evolution of species, including man,

committing himself so far, we regret to say, as repeatedly to declare that if that theory be proved true the Bible must fall. We can hardly think that Dr. Raymond has fully analyzed that subject. More surprising things have happened than that he should live to revise and reverse this opinion. Old interpretations of some passages in Genesis, borrowed, perhaps, from an old false science, must, indeed, be changed; but these changes need not affect our structural theology. Even Romanism does not forbid her scientists and biblicists from maintaining, with Mivart, after Augustine and other early fathers, that Adam's formation was a derivative evolutionary creation.

Evolution requires no greater changes of interpretation in the history of man's creation than has already been made in the interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis. The Bible will no more fall by the adoption of evolution than it fell by the adoption of the antipodes. Our views of revelation may be as justly changed by new discoveries as our views of nature. We do not believe in the evolutionary creation of man. *We* shall not believe until it is *proved.* But we shall believe it when it is proved. And we shall then read certain texts and explain certain doctrines by the light of that discovery. We do not yet believe the pre-Mosaic antiquity of man. We shall believe it when it is proved. One may, then, either with Stanley and Farrar, consider the first ten chapters of Genesis as a separate inauthentic document; or, with Dr. J. P. Thompson and others, may snap asunder the genealogies, and antedate the Adamic creation far back into a former geological period; or one may, with M'Causland, hold that the Adamic race was a later creation. As we have repeatedly intimated, it is this last theory we should far prefer. Dr. Raymond's argumentations against it, he does not seem to recognize have already been answered by us in our Quarterly; and to us they are entirely nugatory.

Our author rejects the doctrine of hereditary guilt, indeed of all necessitated "desert." This is the true ground. Dr. Bledsoe takes the same ground essentially, when he rejects all necessitated "holiness." But the true doctrine rejects necessitated "holiness" from the deeper ground that necessitation destroys desert—desert whether good or evil—all moral merit or demerit, all moral responsibility. On that fundamental ground we affirm, with Dr. B., the non-meritoriousness of necessitated holiness, but do not deny the possibility of its existence. The two views, however, differ more in nomenclature than in essence. In accordance with the

rejection of hereditary guilt our author also rejects the conception that Christ was guilty or punished. His death was not to him penalty, but a substitute for penalty upon the sinner.

We cannot quite accord with our author in rejecting the trinality (or, as it is uncouthly called, the *trichotomy*) of our nature, as body, soul, and spirit. He says, quite incorrectly we think, that the doctrine is mainly founded on 1 Thess. v, 23; but, as we have noted in our comment on that passage, Paul must have been well aware that that trinality was in his day a current one in Platonic and other philosophy, and must have accepted its recognized use. Paul's distinction of *soulical* body from spiritual body in 1 Cor. xv, 44, recognizes this distinction, (see our note on the verse,) and is still stronger than his words in Thessalonians. In an essay by Olshausen, translated by our own hand and inserted some twenty years ago in our Quarterly, it is maintained, with great learning, that this trinality reigns in the psychology of the whole Bible, and in the psychology of the early Church, and disappeared in consequence of its appearing to favor the Apollinarian heresy. Dr. R. would not, of course, deny that in a permanent classification of our mental operations, there is a lower generic class which we share with animals, and a higher generic class which we share not with animals, but with higher natures than our own. This is a most momentous fact. But if we have thus two sets of lower and higher operations, these operations are founded in our lower and higher natures. It may not be necessary to say that these two natures are two separate entities. And yet it is certain that the lower nature does exist separately in the brutes; and that not only does the higher nature exist separately in bodiless spirits, but our own glorified bodies will lose most if not all our animal nature. This is, indeed, the very thing implied in Paul's *soulical* and *spiritual* body. The trinality has, in our view, a great value both in exegetics and theology. On this point we refer our readers to our late book-notice of Mivart's "Lessons from Nature."

In his doctrine of retribution our author has reserved to himself a nice little bit of independence, perhaps of heterodoxy. He rejects annihilationism, post-mortem probation, restorationism, universalism, and accepts the doctrine of eternal misery. But he limits the degree of misery to so small an amount that even the damned prefer existence in damnation to non-existence. The eternal misery is, then, one which every body would prefer to annihilation. Hereupon his reasoning is ingenious. He has his reply to our own objection against it; which objection is, that for us that

eternal misery must be less in degree than the misery of this world. Our own individual deep feeling is, that we would prefer non-existence even to a perpetuation of our present sort of life. Had we no hope of a better state we should, with Harriet Martineau and Lord Macaulay, hold perpetual unconsciousness most desirable. We should say with Job and Dr. Muhlenberg that we "would not live alway." It is the better world that relieves this world from pessimism. According to Dr. R., eternal unconsciousness is a worse punishment than eternal misery. If we held that view, as we have said in a former Quarterly, we should hold that eternal unconsciousness solved the theodicic problem. It reveals the severest penalty upon sin without the slightest imputation upon the divine justice. No man has a right to perpetual consciousness, and God does him no wrong in withdrawing it, especially if the man does not use his conscious existence well.

We are happy to note that in these volumes a very free use is made of our work on "The Freedom of the Will." First we note that our terminologies, invented by us for the assigned reason that the English vocabulary on that subject is shamefully deficient, is used and stamped for currency by the high authority of Dr. Raymond. Such terms as *alternativity*, *either-causal*, *pluripotent*, *unipotent*, *volitionate*, *volitionality*, *freedomist*, *equipotent*, were condemned as barbarisms by the adverse reviews. Dr. Smith, in the Presbyterian Review, gave a list, the Danville Quarterly an exhaustive list, and the New Englander uttered a condemnation. In reply to Dr. Smith we quoted an equal number of "barbarisms" from his translation of Hagenbach; and in reply to the New Englander we quoted an equal number from Herbert Spencer, whose style had just been unqualifiedly eulogized in that periodical. The fuss that was made about the matter by such periodicals justifies our present allusion to it.

But there are other more important appropriations from our volume in Dr. Raymond's chapter on the Will and elsewhere which are still more complimentary. He has taken key-thoughts, definitions, and special passages, found *in our volume and to be found in no previous work*, the product of our own thought, and has used them freely, which is gratifying, but, what is not gratifying, without any acknowledgment, thanks, or credits either to the book or the author; both of which are entirely unmentioned in these two noble volumes. In such case Dr. Raymond, whom we nevertheless hold to be a man of unimpeachable honor, has not only inad-

vertently done himself a wrong, but has rendered his work legally liable to an invalidation of copyright.

The following are some of the passages :—

THE APPROPRIATION.	THE ORIGINAL.
Freedomists object to this definition that it is only freedom *to* an act, not, also, freedom *from* it. It is mere physical or mechanical freedom,...the freedom a *clock hammer* has to strike.	As the *clock hammer* in the given case is free only *to* the stroke, so the agent in the given case is free *to* the given volition, and not also in direction *from* it. He has only the freedom of a mechanical object, not the freedom of a volitional agent.—P. 23.
Freedom of will is freedom both *to* and *from* the act.—P. 146.	There is freedom [in an agent] both *to* and *from* the act.—P. 23.

This formula of *to* and *from*, (with its "clock-hammer" illustration,) first originating in our work, is there repeatedly used as a key-thought; and so it repeatedly is in these volumes.

THE APPROPRIATION.	THE ORIGINAL.
What causes the will to specify, to put forth one volition rather than another? is urged as though it were not only the crucial question, but also determinative of the whole dispute. ... We answer, The will is cause of the volition, and insist that the answer is complete.	What causes the will [to specificate, p. 122,] to put forth the particular volition and no other? This is the crucial question...by the complete answer of which it [necessitarianism] must confess itself conquered.—P. 88.
To inquire further is to ask, What causes the cause to cause? But if an answer be demanded, we say, Nothing causes the will to cause.—P. 150.	Requiring additional cause would be asking, What causes cause to cause? Ask, then, What causes the will to cause the volition? and the reply is, NOTHING.—P. 92.
The question may be retorted: If the will be bound in all cases to one volition, what causes it to be so bound? And if the cause be adduced, we still inquire, What causes that cause to be bound to its sole causation? And if the fastener be found what fastens the fastener?	We return a retort:...How can cause be necessitated to one effect? What... binds and imprisons cause down to one result? Here is a thing to be accounted for . . . this uniformity . . . by which every particular causality...is fastened to one solely possible effect. And when we have found the fastener, what fastens the fastener?—P. 99.
Evidently the questioner is a bad philosopher to ask such a question.—P. 150.	Nay, you are a bad philosopher in asking.—P. 92.

This retort is a vital point, and is original in our volume.

The so-called strength of a motive, considered as a somewhat antecedent to choice, and action is the probability that the agent will act in accordance	The so-called strength of a motive may be again defined *the degree of probability that the will will choose in accordance with it.* . . . The chance may be

with it. Events may be very highly improbable that are at the same time possible.—P. 154.	improbable, and yet prove successful. —P. 130.

This definition of "the strength of a motive" is key to several of our chapters, and is original with our volume.

The question is asked, What is the use of a power to the contrary—a power which confessedly is never used? Evidently all the argument there is in this question turns on the term, power to the contrary, as though freedomists taught there are two powers...whereas the truth is, that the will is one power equipotent for either of several results.	It is sometimes asked, What is the use of a power which is never used? We reply, The argument lies only against a particular mode of expressing the alternatives of will, namely, the phrase "power of contrary choice." Should we say that freedom is a power of choosing *either of several ways*, the question loses its force.

Several of our definitions, as follows, are appropriated, some as acknowledged quotations, all without credit to the real author.

THE APPROPRIATION.	THE ORIGINAL.
Will has been defined to be that power of the mind by which it is the conscious author of an intentional act. —P. 144.	Will is the power of the soul by which it is the conscious author of an intentional act.—P. 15.
A cause has been defined to be a subject by whose existence another subject comes into existence, or may, without contradiction, be supposed to come into existence.	A CAUSE is a subject by whose existence another subject comes into existence, or may, without contradiction to any known truth, be conceived to so come into existence.—P. 47.
The word *power* indicates that in a cause by whose existence the effect comes into existence, or, without contradiction, may be supposed to come into existence.	Power is that element in a cause by which the effect comes into existence, or may, without involving contradiction, be supposed to come into existence.
The absence of power in a subject to be otherwise than it is, is the idea of necessity.—Vol. ii, p. 273.	Necessity in a thing is the non-existence therein of adequate power to be otherwise than it is.—P. 48.

There is, of course, a great body of theology which is common property, and for which no one gives any body credit. But to appropriate from a living writer thoughts, and words, and formulæ by him first brought into existence, without the slightest naming of himself or his book, is a palpable violation of literary justice. We may note that Dr. Cocker has largely used our work in his late volume on Theism, but with the amplest giving of credit. We were gratified at receiving his high indorsement. But it is no author's right to appropriate any body and give thanks to nobody.

Our Theological Century: A Contribution to the History of Theology in the United States. By JOHN F. HURST, D.D. 12mo., pp. 70. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1877.

This *brochure* was first prepared by the learned author for public delivery as a lecture, and appears in print with some enlargements and adaptations to the reading public. It is written in the author's usually transparent style. It traces our theological history through Five Successive Periods, delineates their Characteristics, sums up their Theological Results, and prospects the Necessities for the Future.

The Five Periods noted are: 1. The Liberal and Scriptural Period, embracing the Colonial Age of New England; 2. The Reactionary Period; or, the Half-Way Covenant Period, that is, of the New England Congregational Churches; 3. The Controversial Period, which is not very distinctly described, in which some sort of transition was made from one set of Calvinistic text-books to another set of Calvinistic text-books. As the previous was the "liberal" period, we should be left to infer that the transition was to a less "liberal." 4. The Unitarian Period, that of "the calm Channing, with whom the race of conservative Unitarians was born and expired." 5. The Ecumenical Period, beginning with "the great revival of 1858 and 1859." This programme, with its treatment, suggests some ruminations.

And, first, we may remark its almost exclusively New England aspect. We shall not assume to decide whether this is the fault of the historian or of the facts. But as the present history goes, American theology is mainly New England theology. Our theological brain thus far has been a Yankee one. What say Dr. Bledsoe and Dr. Summers to that result? Let us get up a pretty sectional fight on that subject, and see if Princeton contains the only namable theologians south of New England or New York.

The work is characterized by a very liberal spirit. But for the occurrence of four or five Methodist names, which would have been Calvinistically ignored, we should not have guessed that the volume, if anonymous, had come from a Methodist theologian. This peculiarity arises from the fact that the amiable author has lived at a distance from the field of conflict, was matured after the crisis of the battle was past, and has taken his impressions of the unwritten events from Calvinistic books. It takes a New England Methodist scholar to write the Methodist phase of the Methodist-Calvinistic discussion. How we wish it had been done by the master hand of Wilbur Fisk. Meantime Dr. Fisk's "Calvinistic Controversy," published at our Book Rooms, contains the

best extant statement of that memorable issue. Nor should Dr. Francis Hodgson's fuller work on New Divinity be overlooked.

The characterization of the old first Puritanic Period as "liberal and scriptural" strikes us queerly. It was "liberal" to all who held stiff Calvinism, and it was "scriptural" with Scripture screwed into the model of Calvin's Institutes. But the front presented by this Calvinism to our Methodist fathers seemed to them any thing but "liberal." Modernized New England Calvinism has, as we supposed, gradually become a more liberalized Calvinism, especially in localities where Arminianism is strong. We are unwilling to fling any shades into the sunny picture given by our author of the present "irenical" period. Perhaps we are one of his "theological Bourbons." But our impression is that a great body of Calvinistic divines entertain not the least doubt that this period of peace is a period of universal submission to their own stereotype scheme of dogmas. And Dr. Hurst's book appears to us slightly calculated to confirm their impression. We take it that this pamphlet is a brief outline of a future fuller history.

Our Calvinistic brethren have been lately much excited with a statement of Dr. M'Cosh, that a few imported British preachers have revolutionized the style of American preaching. It is no quarrel of ours, for we have not the least idea that the very learned Scotchman recognized at the moment that there is any Methodist preaching in America. Moreover, the topical style of preaching thus condemned by Dr. M'Cosh finds its ample models in such Scotchmen as Chalmers, and such Englishmen as Robert Hall. But to all who feel stung by this apparent national brag we find in Dr. Hurst's pages some proof that brag is not exclusively an English peculiarity. Thus Dr. Hurst quotes, with full concurrence, the following stroke of magniloquence by Dr. Edward Robinson, our great Palistinean traveler, in the Bibliotheca Sacra:—

> Look first at theology, and I venture to say, after no limited opportunities of personal observation, that the clergy of the United States, as a body, hold a higher rank, both in the science and in the practice of the profession as preachers, than do those of any country of the old world, with the single exception, perhaps, of Germany. In that country there certainly is more of learning; the different departments of theological science are followed out to their utmost limits by men who devote their lives to each, on the principle of the division of labor. Such men, however, are not always, nor usually, preachers; and I hold that the power of American preachers over American mind is greater and more effective than that of the German preachers over German mind. *In Great Britain, as is well known, both theological science and pulpit eloquence are comparatively in a low state of cultivation;* and while the great body of her clergy, both in depth of thought and impressiveness of manner, *must yield the palm to their brethren of the United States,* it is no less true that several of their most current and scientific works for biblical and theological study are also the productions of American scholars.—Pp. 45, 46.

Dr. Hurst ratifies this boast as at present true, and adds a prophecy of a far superior American future. We think that in grandiloquent self-appreciation the Rev. Mr. Bull is quite surpassed by Rev. Bro. Jonathan.

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The Origin and Destiny of Man. By H. W. Thomas, D.D. Phonographic Reports of a Series of Sunday Evening Sermons. Aurora, Illinois: Pierce, Burton, & Co. 1877. Price, $1 75. Mailed to Ministers, $1.

These sermons claim to have been delivered in the ordinary routine of public duty; to have been purely extemporaneous, yet caught as they fell by the cunning of the phonographic art; and to have been at first delivered without any thought of publication. The preacher is aware that a large class of thinkers, both lay and clerical, are of opinion that the pulpit should pass without notice the great questions that science presses at the present day upon theology, and should, it is said, persistently and purely preach the doctrines of the Gospel, leaving to the press the work of conducting the pending scientific-theologic discussion. But scientists have very perturbing utterances to make, and with all consideration for those who think otherwise, he would rather the people should hear them from the pulpit than read them from the newspapers. Nor does it seem wise to deal with these questions by allusions and slants that only reveal antagonism without explaining its grounds. Boldly, fully, and fairly he takes his ground, and gives a survey of the whole case. Where his own view is clear, he states himself explicitly and defends himself bravely; where he has misgivings, he quite as bravely says "I do not know." Perhaps he shows greater courage in some of his doubts than in any of his affirmations. His sermons drew immense congregations through the whole course, and the preacher closes in a tone of jubilant success. His style, making allowance for extemporaneity, is brilliant; his touches are often luminous and richly colored; and if he does not bottom his subject as deeply as a Dawson or a Winchell, yet his volume shows that there are preachers who can handle these subjects with popular success, and proves that the pulpit need not shrink in silence before the professor's chair.

The course of topics is God, Creation, Origin and Antiquity of our Race, Evil, Salvation, Death, Immortality, Resurrection, Judgment, Retribution, Heaven. This is quite a round of popular theology.

In dealing with creation he takes the nebular hypothesis, and finds it symbolized in the Mosaic cosmogony. On the antiquity of the race he inclines to the M'Causland view of the pre-Adamite

man. On the origin of our race he holds the Darwinian view an open question to be candidly discussed. He quotes Baring-Gould on the question of the first man according to evolution, when we think he would better have quoted Mivart, as noticed in a late number of our Quarterly.

Whether the Mosaic chapter on the fall of man be a narrative of fact or a picture of truth, he leaves for his hearers to opine; but he is clear that while there is hereditary sinwardness, there is no such thing as hereditary guilt. "I find our depravity to be in this, that conscience is overcome by the flesh, by appetite, and by passion; but while it is still true to the right, it has not power to rule."

It is upon his doctrine of Retribution that our preacher specially maintains a bold indecision. The "orthodox" doctrine of inevitable endless conscious misery for the finally impenitent he does not quite accept. The doctrine of annihilationism he considers sustainable by strong reasons. The diminutionism of Bushnell (and we may add, of Augustine) he thinks "strange," but gives it a fair and plausible statement. The doctrine of a *post-mortem* probation he will not affirm, yet appears most to favor.

In the last session of the British Wesleyan Conference the venerable Dr. Osborn propounded that no question not left an open question by Mr. Wesley should be allowed to be an open question by that Conference. Whatever point in theology Wesley has once affirmed and never queried, all Wesleyan preachers must hold unquestionable. The British Conference seems to ratify the proposition. Dr. Thomas's book would, undoubtedly, exclude him from the British Conference. And there have been editorials in our official papers, even in our greatest official, that would quite as clearly exclude the editor. We suspect that Dr. Raymond's mild eschatology would exclude him. We are not sure that if Mr. Wesley himself were a thoughtful theologian of the present day the rule would not excommunicate him. We imagine that the census would be small of American Methodist preachers who would accept Mr. Wesley's physical views of hell. In our own opinion the doctrine of restorationism, or after-death probation, has the least to recommend it from Scripture, reason, or analogy of nature, of any known theory of retribution.

Dr. Thomas is an eloquent expounder of truth. His sermons abound in beautiful passages. While liberal to all the evangelical schools, and refusing to be iron-bound to any doctrine, he is hearty in his general Methodism. He has an eminent power of taking

the hard matter of a theological system, stating it in diffusive popular terms, coloring it with conceptual hues, blending it with the analogies of experience, and fusing it into the popular mind and heart. Without indorsing all its statements, we heartily commend his little book to the discriminative perusal of our ministry and of our reading laity.

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Helps to Official Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church: their Powers, Duties, and Privileges; and suggesting sundry Mistakes, Methods, and Possibilities with regard to their respective Departments of Service; designed to render them more efficient and useful. 16mo., pp. 180. By JAMES PORTER, D.D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

Our trustees, stewards, and class-leaders are the three unordained *orders* of our individual Churches. The right performance of their duties is of inestimable importance to the Church, and yet not only has no training-school been instituted, but even no systematic manual of instruction has ever been published until the appearance of this little work by Dr. Porter. Few men in the Church are better qualified by experience and by analytical sagacity for producing such a volume. It brings within a few hours' reading and a few dimes' purchase a body of principles which, properly studied and practiced, would conduce to a large reformation of the practical management of our Church economy in many places.

The trustees are furnished with views of the nature of their office, and important suggestions as to the management of the Church property, and especially in regard to the important business of building churches. Bitter experience has taught us wisdom on this subject, and our author has wisely put the true conclusions on record. To stewards are suggested the proper treatment of pastors, their duties to the poor, and the best methods of meeting church expenses. Of leaders, the origin, qualifications, and duties are described, and directions given how to render class-meetings profitable. Of the whole official body the important duties are treated in regard to granting licenses, obtaining pastors and supplies, allowing salaries and ministers' vacations, and regulating the church music. The two concluding chapters discuss Sunday-schools, rules of parliamentary order, temperance societies, and forms of bequest.

This manual is very valuable to the inexperienced young pastor; and many a pastor would do well to see that each one of his official members has a copy. Many an official board would double its efficiency by adopting its principles.

The Symbolic Parables of the Church, the World, and the Antichrist. Being the Separate Predictions of the Apocalypse, viewed in the General Truths of Scripture. 12mo., pp. 301. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1877. Price, $3.

In explaining the imageries of the Apocalypse this author rejects the chronological and historical application entirely, and views the dragon and the first and second beasts as three adverse powers or principles with which the Church has to struggle in the earth and will ultimately conquer. The adverse principles are Satan, the world, and the flesh. Under Christ the Church will obtain a millennial ascendancy in the world, to be closed with the still higher triumph of the final judgment. We believe that the historico-chronological method has been pushed too far by large classes of commentators; but the remarkable passage, xvii, 8–18, which our author avoids discussing, clearly demonstrates that the entire part, xii–xxii, has an historical, geographical, and chronological base.

The number of the beast, 666, is thus explained: "Seven being, as we have seen, a symbol of completeness, or a complete number, and the *seventh* a *sacred* number, we understand 6 to stand for a profane number, wanting the sacred seventh, and that it is used to designate separately each of the three," the dragon and the two beasts. He seems to propose this as original with himself. But it is an old solution, given by Henry More, the philosopher, with very little to recommend it.

Yet we suppose that there are very many minds to whom this exposition would be acceptable. It requires no historic lore; it fixes no predicted time or event with a possible failure of fulfillment; it holds the book within the domain of spiritual doctrine rather than of prophecy, and renders it susceptible of many varied practical applications.

A Dissertation on the Epistle of St. Barnabas. Including a Discussion of its Date and Authorship. By Rev. William Cunningham. Together with the Greek Text, the Latin Version, and a New English Translation and Commentary. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877. Price, $2 25.

This fine monograph is printed at the Cambridge University Press, having received the Hulsean prize in 1874. The epistle is in elegant Greek type, with the *vetus interpretatio*, or old Latin version, on the opposite page. The notes are in English, occupying nearly the entire lower half of the pages, both of the Greek and Latin epistle. The thirty subsequent pages are occupied with Mr. Cunningham's "new English translation." The volume closes with twenty pages of Index. The preliminary "Introduction"

occupies one hundred and seventeen pages. It discusses in a lucid style the text, plan, and character of the epistle, its authorship, canonicity, and authenticity, its relations to its age and its theology. It is at once exhaustive and concise. The entire volume will be a very acceptable acquisition to our Christian scholars interested in patristic antiquity.

The attribution of the authorship of the Epistle to the Apostle Barnabas, the co-laborer of St. Paul, Mr. C. very justly rejects. He holds the author to have been not a Jew but a Gentile, who wrote the epistle against the Jewish tendencies of the Church in his day. He dates the writing of the epistle between the destruction of Jerusalem and the rebellion of Bar-Cochav; that is, between A. D. 70 and 135, with a strong bearing in favor of its early existence in that period. It was a time when the patriotic Jews were indulging a hope of the speedy rebuilding of their temple, and the epistle was written for the fundamental purpose of showing that true religion needs no temple, the true temple being the holy man. The writer labors to prove that the Old Testament dispensation was but the type of the new; but his mode of argument is entirely unlike that of St. Paul, as he fastens his argument on very puerile points, and betrays no little ignorance of the old Hebrew institutions.

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Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book of the Epistles to the Corinthians. By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th. D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hanover. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the German by Rev. D. Douglas Bannerman, M. A. The translation revised and edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. 8vo., pp. 400. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. Imported Edition. Price, $3.

We duly chronicle the advancement of this work in the English translation. It comes slowly from the necessity of a perfect critical accuracy. We need not repeat the expression of our former opinion that as an exegetical analysis of the Greek text of the New Testament, written with a single-hearted and keen-sighted purpose of laying bare the exact meaning of the writer, this commentary is unsurpassed. The Corinthian Epistles were admirably suited to his genius, and his admirers consider this as one of his best sections.

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The Chronology of Bible History and How to Remember It. By Rev. C. MUNGER, A.M. Paper cover. 12mo., pp. 32. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Chronology is an important accompaniment to Bible history, by which many of its problems are solved, especially in prophecy.

The little manual of Mr. Munger is admirably contrived to serve both as a reference and as a study for thorough knowledge. Every student of the Bible, both Old Testament and New, should have, if not its contents in his brain, its pages at hand for ready use.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Reconciliation of Science and Religion. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, D.D., Author of "Sketches of Creation," "Doctrine of Evolution," etc. 12mo., pp. 403. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1877.

The present volume has received from the critical columns of our highest dailies the most respectful notice as a valuable contribution to the adjustment of the greatest questions mooted between the scientific and theological sections of thought. It consists largely of a collection of monographs already separately published, some of them in our own Quarterly, all tending to one general result, and possessing, perhaps, sufficient unity to be on the whole a treatise on one general subject.

The first three chapters contain an ingenious view of the varying antitheses in successive ages between science and religion, or rather between the interaction of our intellective and our religious faculties. There are periods in which, under the predominant exercise of our intellectual faculties, investigations are prosecuted and science is formed or advanced. Many pseudo-scientific assumptions which religious faith, borrowing from the previous crude pseudo-science, had mixed up with her own intuitions and inspirations, are hereby disturbed and routed, and faith is thereby disparaged and skepticism rules the age. But in due time faith reasserts herself, her high intuitions break forth, and men are restless until their higher nature has recovered its true ascendency. This is religious revival, and it is a purer religion that emerges. Yet traces of the mixture of false science which are embodied into this system remain, and again a science revival attacks these spurious elements and faith again trembles. In due time she rises again, still further purified, and thus a series of oscillations takes place, in which science and faith interchange triumphs, which our author constructs into graphic diagrams. These interactions between religious inspiration and natural investigations Dr. W. traces among the various more civilized races of mankind. He finds them in the psychic history of Egypt, China, India, Greece, as well as the modern Christian nations. From this it follows, or

is plausibly assumed, first, that religion and science are both as indestructible as the faculties in which they are based, and hence the realities they realize are also valid and indestructible; second, that any fear that science will destroy religion is as absurd as a fear that religion will destroy science, since both have an equally indestructible base, both subjective and objective; third, we have a clear development in religion by which, recognizing the good which comparative theology reveals in all old religions, we may look for a purer unfolding of religious faith, and a growing certainty in its inspirations in the future. There is no ground for the fear that Christianity is to fall before scientism. Herein Dr. W. recognizes a Broad Church, an ecumenical Church, of different shades of light and twilight, yet in its day each a true Church. He is hence "latitudinarian." He speaks, perhaps, more strongly, sometimes, than wisely, of creeds in contemptuous terms. Yet of the positive and ultimate religion of the human intuitions he believes the Bible to be a true and adequate expression. Does not this lead to a general rationalistic position within the limits of Christianity? Does it not give an easy berth to modern liberalism, the descendant and heir apparent of old Pelagianism? We could wish that our author had furnished one chapter on the great principle of the increase of obligation to truth by the increase of light; or, as we may otherwise express it, the proportionment of the degree of responsibility to the amount of means for being right. In our chapter on "The Equation of Probational Advantages" (in our work on the Will) we have pressed that topic with urgency, and we think the principle is an important appendix to all our essays on Comparative Theology.

In the following chapters the work becomes not so much a reconciliation of science and religion as an argument for the existence and knowability of God. It *includes* a showing that the doctrine of genetic evolution does not contradict this theism. But much of several chapters on Theism, however valuable, might be omitted to a greater unity of the book. An extended discussion of causality leads to a clear tracing of Intentionality in the cosmos, as disclosed by science. And this Intentionality appears in Evolution just as incontrovertibly as in what scientists are pleased to call "*special* creation." But Evolution would, in fact, be but *a mode of creation.* He forcibly says: "Even if species have a derivative origin, there is not one moment between the initial act and the final result when the impress of intelligent will is removed. In this view, not only is every species, but also every individual, the

result of direct creation; but both are creations according to preordained and uniform methods."—P. 224.

View God as Infinite, and the whole animal world may be viewed as one great "special creation." And we thus come back to the dogma of Augustine, that the whole cosmos was "potentially created at once," and that it thence goes forth in a serial evolution.

The position of Dr. W. in regard to derivation of species, as appears in this volume, seems easy to trace. In the text of the work he says:—

> There is not an undoubted instance of the derivation of a genuine species, its possibility is a mere hypothesis; and the assertion that *all* species are derivatives is a somewhat hazardous assumption.—P. 252.

But in a foot note, written apparently at a later moment, he adds:—

> The author would be sorry to indulge in dogmatism on this question. Recent observations have shown the possibility of structural changes of great significance, one of the most interesting of which is cited from the *Zeitschrift für Wissenchaftliche Zoölogie*, which represents a minute crustacean varying, with increase of the saltness of the water, from a specific form known as *Artemia salina* to another specific form known as *Artemia Milhauseni*, and with decrease in the saltness of the water varying inversely. (*Popular Science Monthly*, vol. ix, p. 122) Even this is less striking than the transformation of *Siredon lichenoides* (observed by Professor Marsh) induced, under change of habitat, by which a transition was effected not only from one supposed species to another, but from one recognized genus to another, and even from a group (Perennibranchiata) commonly regarded as of ordinal value, to another group (Caducibranchiata) often regarded as a distinct order. Obviously, however, such examples remain, for the present, open to the explanation that naturalists have overestimated or underestimated the relative value of different categories of characters, (mistaking certain ones for specific, which are only varietal,) or have assumed as adult and ultimate states those which are merely developmental; as in the remarkable instances of Medusæ, where, as an illustration, the embryonic stages of a single individual were described as four genera, *Scyphistoma*, *Strobila*, *Ephyra*, and *Aurelia*. (Packard, "Life Histories of Animals," p. 68; Clark, "Mind in Nature," pp. 62-72.)—P. 253.

Still later he adds:—

> Since the foregoing note was penned, the researches of American zoölogists have made it appear that a large proportion of the recognized species of birds, mammals, and fresh-water mollusks of our country are no more than geographical varieties, having, of course, common origins. Yet we have been no less positive about the fixity of these supposed specific types than, on the same grounds, we might continue to be in respect to specific types still recognized. If we must admit that so many "good species" have had common origins, we may as well admit that all good species have been probably derived from common origins, and thus the barrier to acceptance of the derivative hypothesis would be completely broken down. In the judgment of the writer, the evidence for derivation has been continually accumulating, and, *pari passu*, the difficulties encountered by it have disappeared. This admission, however, concerns the theory only as *a mode of succession of phenomena*, and as *an explanation of the material conditions and physiological instrumentalities* under which and through which the succession is effectuated by some cause existing without the province of science. It is made, also, in view of the entire range of evidence—geological, zoölogical, embryological, and morphological—and not on the naked evidence of a few nicely graduated successions of forms.—P. 253.

In the Preface, written, doubtless, still later, he adds:—

> In reference to the much mooted scientific question of the derivative origin of species, the reader will detect indications of a growing faith. A certain class of proofs has been accumulating at a rapid rate; and the author's present conviction is, that the doctrine of the derivation of species should be accepted; and that the most tenable theory of the causes, instrumentalities, and conditions of this derivation is that propounded in 1868 by Professor Edward D. Cope.—P. v.

It was in consequence of this last passage, and not from being "alarmed," that our Publishers, by advice of the Editor, inserted a *caveat* against being supposed to commit their constituency to this position. Thereby all persons, whether outsiders or insiders, were estopped from saying that our Church, through its proper organ, had taken evolutionary ground. Such *caveats* have been repeatedly inserted in our publications, by which a freedom of utterance without illegitimate commitment has been secured. No reflection upon the writer's orthodoxy is thus uttered. And we must report it as our strong impression that genetic evolution has apparently become the almost unanimous doctrine of the scientific world.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Formal Fraternity. Proceedings of the General Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1872, 1874, and 1876, and of the Joint Commission of the two Churches on Fraternal Relations, at Cape May, New Jersey, August 16–23, 1876. 8vo., paper cover, pp. 87. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Nashville: A. H. Redford.

This publication is late noticed because, accidentally, late it came to our table. It furnishes an important link or two in the chain of our Church history on the subject of slavery. That history begins with the publication of John Wesley's immortal manifesto against slavery. It ends when all action or feeling in the two Methodist Episcopal Churches taking rise from slavery ends. The whole forms an important chapter in human progress, in its advancements of light, truth, and freedom, and its triumph over darkness, error, and despotism. Every page is honorable to our history as showing that as soon as the slavery that divided us ceased it was our Church that made the forward advances toward peace. Such was the spontaneous movement of our Bishops at St. Louis—unhappily repelled by the Bishops South. Such was the mission of Bishop Janes and Dr. Harris to the Southern General Conference—again rejected and on mere technical grounds. Such, a third time, was the movement of our General Conference in 1876, gladly responded to by a large and increasing body of

Southern Methodists, yet reluctantly yielded to by a powerful set of bigoted Bourbons. This magnanimous persistence on our part, fearless of all charges of unseemly compliance, arose, *first*, from the fact that it was our formal act which interrupted fraternity in 1848; *second*, that we were by all notoriety much the stronger body; and, *third*, that the fortunes of war made persistent advances on our part consistent with self-respect. These same facts largely explain the reluctance of many good men in the Church South to hasty acceptance; who demanded, with no small degree of right, that propositions made should possess an unequivocal and above-board character. What has been done, time, we believe, will gradually ratify and honor.

A few weeks since the Independent, in an article which we quote as accurately as we can from memory, rebukes the Methodist Episcopal Church for its movements toward fraternity with the Church South, averring that we made too large sacrifices for such purpose, and quoting a ribald article from the Richmond Advocate, burlesquing the northern fraternitist as a monster, and, also, an article from the Nashville Advocate, declaring that the editor "understood" that our withdrawal from the South was an agreed condition to said fraternity. The editor omitted to specify what the "fraternity" is which our Church proposes. It proposes no reunion; no special brotherhood or communion; but simply the restoration of the normal relation of two evangelical Churches, formally broken for good cause by us in 1848. The reasons for that *break* having ceased, it became us, who made the break, to move a renewal of recognition. It was simply a move to restore a normal relation between two denominations. Our General Conference in 1876 made the proposal, specially premising that *in no case were we, as condition, to withdraw our position in the South.* The Southern General Conference entertained the proposal, and jointly with us appointed a commission to settle details. That commission performed their work with eminent wisdom. No withdrawal from our position was intimated, nor had our commission any authority to make any such intimation.

No one more nervously than Dr. Summers reiterates, when approaches between the two Churches are made, that fraternity must not imply any approach or hint of reunion. No one better knows that fraternity leaves us two denominations, just as we and the Presbyterians are two. And no one better knows that it is perfectly in rule that two, or any number of, denominations may

occupy the same territory. So long as we remain two denominations there is no reason for our Churchly withdrawal from the South. If the next southern General Conference, soon now to meet, professes so to have "understood," and insists on such withdrawment, that ends the whole fraternity matter. It will then be they who are responsible for the break. It will be their turn to offer the proposals of fraternity; and we shall wait with all tranquillity, even though it be through centuries and æons, for the avatar of that proposal. We shall then have shown to the world that we are irresponsible for a deadly schism in universal Methodism.

What sacrifices we have made for "fraternity" we do not know. It may be that an equitable rule adopted by the Cape May conference requires the giving up some property on both sides. We do not consider a concession to an equity, agreed upon by a proper referee, to be any "sacrifice." Our utter condemnation of slavery, our refusal to rescind the so-called "Plan of Separation," our utter rejection of all proposed "conditions" precedent to fraternity, were firmly maintained, and will be maintained. If we have made any concessions apparently adverse to the negro, those concessions, like those made by President Hayes, and approved by the Independent, were really favorable to him as relieving him from a vast amount of oppression and massacre. Church-burners and school-house burners still, however, seem to perform their work. If the Church South holds any complicity with such, as we believe she does not, the offense that produced the break of 1848 will have been repeated, and the break will, doubtless, follow. Our Church desires peace, fraternity, and evangelic co-operation with all other Churches, and especially with all other Methodisms. But we are not likely again to sectionalize ourselves, as most inconsistently we did in 1844. We believe that the southern General Conference will be uninfluenced by such petulant southern editorials as the "Independent" quotes, and will act with wisdom, and for peace. If otherwise we are ready for the exigency.

And while dealing with the Independent, we may notice the deep interest it takes in our Methodism, and especially its "failure." In apparent hopes of that "failure" it has for some time sympathized with the small minority among us who are anxious to upset our system. It exulted before the last General Conference at the prospect of revolution, and cheered on the then editorial course of our Advocate to its disastrous result. When the present editor of the same paper took his seat, a course of very discourte-

ous personalities was opened upon him. Those discourtesies were in the shape of pitiable taunts and sneers and formal attacks. Those personalities were below the level of respectable religious newspaper comity. Our young Editor, unaccustomed to such newspaper warfare, bore it for a long time—much longer than we should have borne it in silence—and then replied, for once too strongly, in the same personal style. Forthwith his assailant came forth in a deluge of denunciation upon his victim. At this crisis, we are sorry to say, one of our own papers, the Northern Advocate, came out with a grave lecture upon our editor, about editorial ethics, never once *noticing* the persistent violations of all courtesy by the Independent. For this he was worthily dubbed Professor of Editorial Ethics by the Independent, who claimed that the Methodist press generally condemned the editor of our Advocate. The Independent is mistaken. It is himself who, by his malign course, has dishonored the religious press. As for Dr. Fowler, his paper, in spite of the terrible pressure of the times, has handsomely increased its subscription list, while rumor reports, we say it with no pleasure, that that of the Independent has been diminishing. Dr. F. stands unharmed by personal shafts; his popularity with the Church is ever more widely spreading; and if the Independent wishes to contribute to his advancement in the honor of the Church let the attacks be continued. These attacks are obviously made from the fact that Dr. Fowler's election was the clearest expression of the General Conference's purpose to maintain intact the integrity of our Methodism. So long, then, as he maintains his noble bearing, his purity of character, and his loyalty of principle, the assaults he suffers will accrue to his honor, and it will be a point of honor with the Church to sustain him. At the same time, from past experience, we query whether the Methodist editor who is guided in his Church polity by the cheers of the Independent comes to any good when he meets his General Conference.

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Life and Papers of A. L. P. Green, D.D. By Rev. WILLIAM M. GREEN. Edited by T. O. SUMMERS, D.D. 12mo., pp. 592. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1877.

Dr. A. L. P. Green's name is conspicuous in the records of the great discussions before, during, and after the "great secession" of Southern Methodists from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Though a young man in 1844, he was one of the most influential misleaders in that great misstep. To *his* subserviency to slavery, his hostility

to the continuance of the hitherto conceded exclusion of slaveholders from our episcopacy, his agency in the judicial despoilment of our Church, his disloyalty to the government of his country, his eloquence, statesmanship, and commanding character, were largely due the terrible disasters that wrecked his section of the nation. Without any personal acquaintance with him, we had the impression, perhaps a false one, that he was a man of extreme and imperious character. To his opponents he may have seemed so, may have *been* so. But that to his own friends he appeared and *was* eminently genial, and even fascinating, the abundant testimony of his associates, in the present little volume, are amply demonstrating. No testimonies from the opposite side are adduced in the book. We are unable, therefore, to say, of our own knowledge, whether or not Dr. Green exemplified the statement we once read in regard to his section, to the effect that "a Southerner when he is pleased with you is one of the most genial and hearty friends in the world; but cross his path adversely and he is—the very devil." This may not have been a true general characterization, and we shall assume that it had no application to him, and we accept the portrait drawn in his biography. He was, then, a sample of the many great and good men who were not only followers but leaders in the great Southern error.

There is a great deal of bad taste, and even eccentricity, on the part of the author; such as a dissertation on "hash," and one on walking with a cane, so fatuous that the editor feels obliged to deny any responsibility for it. But he often also shows no little piquancy, sharp sense, and skill in portraiture. In spite of its absurdities, and even somewhat perhaps in consequence, he has produced a very interesting book, and cheated us, in spite of our wrath at his follies, into reading him clean through before we were aware.

Dr. Green's was a true Methodist-preacherly history, much like what we have read a hundred times, but with a Southern hue that has a fresh interest. He was a seventh son of a severe Wesleyan father, consecrated by a pious mother in infancy, phenomenally "converted" at nine years of age, a class-leader at sixteen, an exhorter, soon after developing into a "boy-preacher" on a circuit. That was the old regular route. His perfect *physique* in perfect health found a fearful mar in circuiting over the mountains of Tennessee amid the deep December snows. His fine person, affable manners, attractive eloquence, knowledge of human nature, ability to command, soon wrought for him a natural ascendency

among his fellows. On circuit, in station, in conference, at camp-meeting, he was naturally at home, and easily a prince. He aimed at *effects;* to stir up religious movement, to get the largest possible number of souls converted, to build up Churches, to spread the power of religion through all the land. He was a regular elect to successive General Conferences; received a D.D. from a Presbyterian college; was appointed one of the managers of the law-suit against the Methodist Episcopal Church. During the civil war, when the national armies took possession of Nashville, he left with the insurgents, imagining that on account of his share in the Church suits he was liable to be thrown into prison. For other assigned reasons than this, namely, for alleged fierce seditious talk and action, we recollect that at one time some leading ministers in Tennessee were placed under durance. General Butler was disposed, as he himself said, "not only to shut up certain churches, but to shut up certain preachers." Dr. Green was, however, moderate and cautious, and when the rebellion ceased obtained a regular pardon.

Though not a scholar, he was a reader. We are told that "he was fond of metaphysics—read Edwards, Bledsoe, and Whedon," the names being, doubtless, ranged in climax order. The portraitures of the various traits of his character by the pen of the biographer, aided by sketches and paragraphs from Bishops Paine, M'Tyeire, Dr. Summers, and others, furnish a very noble ideal. The engraved frontspiece images his person pleasantly to the mind's eye. He became, we are not told how, wealthy; which enabled him to open house to a wide social set, and to "work for nothing and find himself." So much ability consecrated with so much unselfishness to the holiest of causes secured him no earthly immortality. On his death-bed he received a sympathizing letter from "the now sainted E. S. Janes," dated from the "Round Lake Camp-meeting, 1874.

The "Papers" written by Dr. Green did not, like the biography, beguile us into extended reading. There is one on the "Church, North and South" which were better omitted. We need only say that it contains the flagrant misstatement that "the North was disposed to depose Bishop Andrew," and many other misstatements and omissions to match. Had the North been so disposed it could have deposed Bishop Andrew; but it was not, and so did not. We add, in fairness to the Biographer, that he furnishes antidote to this fiction by recording the real action of the General Conference of 1844 in the bishop's case. He furnishes two

or three small misstatements of his own, but in general is moderate and fair minded. As we have really read it, we need not say that his book is decidedly readable.

The following is a favorable and suggestive specimen of Mr. Green's lively digressions:—

> There are various reasons why the camp-meeting conducted on the old plan must be ere long a glorified thing of the past. This is not a matter of love or preference, but of destiny, to which we all must bow and "make the most of it." In the Southern States camp-meetings are, and have been, sustained by the few, as to expense. The *few* are active business men, whose time is more fully occupied than in *ante-bellum* days; they have not the slave labor and excess of provisions. Labor, provisions, and time have all become valuable. A meeting conducted on the gratuitous plan smacks of good cheer and Southern hospitality; but, while it is fun to the multitude, it grinds exceedingly hard on the generous *few*. I am satisfied that the Northern hotel plan is the best. There are few camp-meetings now, not because the people do not like them, but because there is no feasible plan for conducting them. We have furnished these observations especially for the benefit of a class of camp-meeting loafers (a number of whom remain to this present) who are very lugubrious at the degeneracy of the times caused by the scarcity of camp-meetings, but really (*inter nos*) because the opportunity is denied them of leaving their families at home on short allowance and gormandizing (themselves) at the big meetings. I have heard my father often, in his good-humored way, refer to these religious *whang-doodles* who infested alike camp-meetings and quarterly meetings. A pen-portrait of one, under the *cognomen* of Benhadad, is furnished in these pages.—Pp. 63, 64.

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Bernardino Ochino, of Siena. A Contribution toward the History of the Reformation. By KARL BENRATH. Translated from the German by HELEN ZIMMERN, with an Introductory Preface by WILLIAM ARTHUR, A.M. 8vo., pp. 298. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1877.

This work of Dr. Benrath introduces a new name to many who are not unacquainted with the history of the Reformation. Ochino was born in the year 1487, in the city of Siena, Italy. He was, consequently, four years younger than Martin Luther, and twenty-two years older than Calvin, and the contemporary of the great leaders of the Reformation. The Popish assertion that Luther rebelled against the Church because it stood in the way of his selfish purposes and plans is abundantly refuted by the fact that, before he nailed his challenge to the door of the Church at Wittenberg, men of the best mind and purest lives in various countries were pondering sadly over the religious corruptions of the times, and anxiously inquiring for some way of return to the original simplicity and power of the Gospel.

Ochino was one of these purer members of the Catholic clergy who saw the errors of the Church, and would gladly have reformed it from within. Like Luther, he was a monk, having become, first, a member of the order of the Observants, and afterward a Capuchin, of which order he became one of the four generals in 1535, and

three years later was placed at the head of it. He was in the highest repute for sanctity, and his reputation for zeal and eloquence was so great that the Pope appointed him apostolic missionary, and gave him a sort of roving commission as Papal evangelist. His labors in this capacity were in great request in the chief cities of Italy, and created a lively competition among them to secure him for courses of sermons. Thus, in 1539, he preached in Venice a series of lenten discourses, which, as one of his hearers declared in a letter to the Pope, "won a thousand souls for Paradise." Another of his hearers exclaims with enthusiasm, "Ochino can move stones to tears!" So great was the strife to secure his services that the Pope assumed the right to decide between conflicting claims and appeals.

But the spirit of the Reformation was at work, and the writings of Bucer, Luther, and Calvin were making their way silently among the people. In Naples was a little circle of gifted, devout inquirers. Juan Valdez, a Spanish layman, seems to have been a leader among them. Ochino became acquainted with this pious company, and his views matured rapidly under their influence. They believed the great doctrine of salvation by faith, and felt that the reform which the Church needed was not, as some fancied, a more vigorous working of ecclesiastical machinery, but a return to the simplicity of the Gospel. This friendly circle soon became suspected. Ochino was the most prominent member of it; trusty men were sent to watch him, and scent out the heresy which might be lurking in his sermons and writings. One of his peculiarities was easily detected. He preached little about penance, purgatory, and the saints, but much about Christ and his power to save. As early as 1536 he had been accused of leaning toward Lutheran heresy. In 1539 the spies who heard his sermons in Naples reported to Rome that he was unsound in the Catholic faith. This same year he published a work entitled "Seven Dialogues," in which he quietly ignores the corrupt teachings of Rome, and points the soul directly to Christ. One of his interlocutors, for instance, utters the following significant declaration: "In my last hour I will not appear before the throne of the Holy Trinity otherwise than sprinkled by the blood of Christ, and rich through his merits, and in no other manner will I enter Paradise."

In 1542 he again preached a course of sermons in Naples, the Pope consenting, but sending secret orders to watch his utterances. Here matters reached a crisis. The news came to Ochino that his friend, Giulio Terenziado, had been thrown into prison at Milan

for heresy. Ochino was so indignant that he publicly denounced the "casting of the heralds of the truth in dungeons and chains." The Papal nuncio at once prohibited his preaching any more. The people were moved by this act, and compelled the nuncios to give way and permit the preacher to complete his course of sermons. Rome, however, was alarmed, and soon a Papal Bull was issued establishing a reviving of the Inquisition for the suppression of heretics. Ochino was, perhaps, the first, certainly among the first, called to account, being summoned to Rome for that purpose. On his way thither, in obedience to the Papal command, he became convinced that the only alternative that could be left him by his enemies would be a renunciation of his clearest convictions, or death. At Florence he met Peter Martyr, who had received a similar citation to Rome, but had made up his mind to travel in the opposite direction. Ochino determined also to fly. Reaching Geneva in October, 1542, he was warmly welcomed by Calvin and the other reformers.

In 1545 he became pastor of a Church of Italian refugees at Augsburg, but his friends lost the power to protect him there, and in 1547 he fled to England. Cranmer and the other leading Protestants gave him a cordial reception, and he was made Professor of Theology at Oxford. In 1553 Edward VI. died, and the Catholics once more regained power, their first act being the banishment of foreign theologians. Ochino returned to the continent, and became the pastor of a reformed congregation at Zurich. Here he published a work in dialogue form, discussing, among other things, the lawfulness of polygamy, and his critics charged that the debate was so conducted that the wrong side was victorious. A storm was raised, and the city council, without hearing the accused, condemned him and banished him from the city. He went to Basle, but was not permitted to remain. The city of Nuremberg was so humane as to allow him to spend the winter there, and then compelled him to depart. Taking refuge in Poland he found himself among Papal enemies, and was again compelled to fly. He went next to Moravia, where, in the year 1564, and the seventy-seventh year of his age, he died, leaving it an open question whether the Catholics or the Protestants were his most unreasonable and cruel persecutors. The book throws a curious light upon the men of those times, and is a valuable addition to the literature treating of the Reformation.

Camp, Court, and Siege: A Narrative of Personal Adventure and Observation during Two Wars—1861–1865, 1870, 1871. By WICKHAM HOFFMAN, Assistant Adjutant-General United States Volunteers, and Secretary United States Legation at Paris. 12mo., pp. 285. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

While in the American army the author witnessed many important operations in the Southern States. He was at Hatteras, New Orleans, Vicksburgh, Baton Rouge, etc., and what he saw he describes graphically and gracefully. At the close of the war he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Legation at Paris, which city he reached in the autumn of 1866. He remained in Paris during the Franco-German war, and, of course, had a good inside view of the siege of that city, with its various incidents and events—grave, gay, and grotesque.

This is a book of anecdotes rather than a complete history, yet it is very readable and entertaining, and sets before the reader so many items of significance and value that he peruses every line, and, on reaching the end, wishes it was longer. In fact, we cannot help feeling that the author, with his facile pen and his unrivaled opportunities for observation, ought to have produced a more valuable work. The siege of Paris would have special interest at the present juncture, when the principles and the proceedings of the Communists have suddenly become matters of importance to us.

Periodicals.

The National Repository.

It will add a great finish to Dr. Curry's great services to the Church if he succeeds in rehabilitating our monthly periodical on firm foundations, and raising it to its ancient prosperity. Our feminine better half of the Church made but a faint struggle against the disfranchisement, and seems to have retired in submissive silence. But a periodical for their department is still wanting; certainly will be, unless the sisters of the Church are very unanimous and very earnest both in calling for a representative periodical and in supporting it. The editor—who is both old and new—has put upon the concern a fresh cover and face, and infused into it a new and manly life. That its life shall be vigorous and lengthened is, we believe, the hope and wish of all.

Dr. Curry's history, like our own, extends into a miniature antiquity. A generation or two, rising into a knowledge of Church affairs, recognizes him as one of the fixed institutions. During the pro-slavery days, that "tried men's souls," he was a firm, un-

flinching leader, whose plume tossed high in the van, and whose falchion did serious execution. The zest and energy with which he has entered into the interests of the Church in all its departments, the devotion and untiring ubiquity with which he has made those interests his own, have imparted many a force to her operations, given many a guidance to her career, and won a large confidence of the Church in his integrity and ability. Only would she have him not dream that he has a high mission to reconstruct her institutions, or to substitute in place of the Church of Wesley and Asbury the pseudo-church of Curry. The great body of our preachers and people have love for and faith in our historic Methodism, and is unwilling to write its finis. The great problem is not how our polity can be changed, but how its great possibilities and powers can be worked to their highest tension and greatest result.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Thomæ Kempensis de Imitatione Christi. Libri Quatuor. Per CAROLUS HIRSCHE. Berolini. 1874.

This new edition of the original text of the matchless book of Thomas à Kempis has more than ordinary claims upon the attention of the scholar. Professor Hirsche has made the writings of Thomas à Kempis a patient study for a series of years. As a preparation for this work he published a short time since a special work, entitled "Prolegomena to a New Edition of the Imitation of Christ;" and he is now preparing a Lexicon to the same. The text before us has good pretext for claiming to be the purest and best that has ever been published. It is the first time that the original manuscript, in the handwriting of Thomas à Kempis himself, has been printed for the public. It is also the first printed edition which reproduces the peculiar punctuation, and preserves, in its single lines, the poetical rhythm and the partial rhyming of the original. The careful editing of this hitherto but imperfectly known manuscript will make an epoch in the history of the celebrated book. Besides the care bestowed upon the text, the editor has furnished it with careful summaries of the drift of thought, and with citations of the original sources, in the Scriptures, the Fathers, etc., of which Thomas à Kempis made use, all of which results in a most beautiful, intelligible, and charming presentation of one of the very best books that ever issued from a consecrated human heart. Readers of Latin cannot do themselves a more real favor than by putting a copy of this original Thomas à Kempis in a

handy corner of their libraries, in order that in occasional odd moments of time they may refresh themselves in its deep, broad, and calm waters. It alone is worth all the other books on the higher life that were ever written. F. W. Christian, New York, will import single copies, and deliver them per post for less than two dollars.

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Das Buchlein von der Nachfolge Christi, (The Imitation of Christ.) Von Moritz Schwalb. Henschel, Berlin.

An essay on the religious work of the above-mentioned little book. Schwalb is a rationalist, but he admires the *Imitatio.* A marvelous trait of the disputed author, says Schwalb, is his self-forgetfulness, his impersonality. Did he live and see it amid the sublimities of lofty mountains and sparkling cascades? or on a prosy, sandy plain? He betrays it not. His eye saw only the glories of the invisible world. As to its general drift, the book is both eudemonistic, mystical, and practical. But the mystical phase predominates. The goal aimed at is to enjoy God in love. Sin is want and void. Blessedness comes of an *influxus realis* of the divinity into us. Man's desert arises from *how* he bears himself toward self-proffering grace. Solitary contemplation is the holiest act. The magic power of the book lies neither in its dogmas nor in its style, but in its genuine religiousness. In this respect it is decidedly Roman Catholic; and yet it strikes a chord that is common to all hearts, and even to all religions. This chord is man's irradicable thirst after God. The form of blessedness aimed at is the monastic; but the means urged are universally valid. In this the book is truly cosmopolitan, for every age and clime and religion—for man as man. A grand feature of its nature for the present and the future is its unionistic tendency. It embraces and fosters the good that is in all Churches and all religions. Over it the Romanist and the Protestant, the orthodox and the neologist, and (in many chapters) the Christian and the Jew, or even the Mohammedan or Buddhist, may strike friendly hands.

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Essai sur L'Intempérance, par Edmond Bertrand. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie.

France and Germany are following America and England in creating a literature and a public sentiment in regard to the scourge of intemperance, and their books are well worthy of careful comparison with those of their more progressive neighbors. M. Bertrand is an eminent lawyer and publicist, and he looks upon the subject from the stand-point of a clear-headed patriot and statesman. His book is the result of great painstaking and study,

and deserves hearty recognition for its rich presentation of facts and statistics, as well as for its great candor and dispassionateness in dealing with the great evil. Part first of his *Essai* treats of the extent of intemperateness, particularly in England and France. Part second gives the bearing of intemperance upon poverty, upon home comfort, upon wages, and upon education. Part third shows the influence of intemperance on mortality, crime, suicide, and insanity. Part fourth discusses the means appropriate to prevent, repress, or diminish the evils of dram-houses, and the results which may be hoped for therefrom. And this frame-work the author has well and carefully filled out. We know not where else so much information as to the many and complicated legal and moral attempts that have been made on the continent against the great curse could well be obtained in such a reliable shape.

La Loi du Dimanche. Par ERNEST NAVILLE. Geneva.

An eloquent discourse, delivered at Geneva last October before a convention called to consider the means of securing a better observance of the Sabbath. It breathes the earnest, sensible views which one would expect as a matter of course from this conscientious Christian philosopher. He makes a broad distinction between Sunday laws from a social stand-point and Sunday laws from a dogmatic stand-point. He holds that States which recognize no State Church can consistently act only from the former stand-point, and he endeavors to show that merely social considerations abundantly justify the State in exacting the sacred observance of the Sabbath.

Miscellaneous.

The Student's Commonplace Book: A Cyclopedia of Illustration and Fact, topically arranged. For the use of Students in Every Department of English Literature. Interleaved for Additions. Vol. I. English Literature. With an Appendix containing Hints on the Formation of a Library, etc. By HENRY J. FOX, D.D., Professor in the State University of South Carolina. New York, Chicago, and New Orleans: A. S. Barnes & Co. Quarto. Price by mail, $4 50, sent post-paid. 1877.

Dr. Fox's title-page, above given, is a book notice. The volume claims to give the result of our thirty years of miscellaneous reading. The hint was first derived from Todd's Index Rerum, but that inadequate work suggested a great number of improvements. To those who have a taste or genius for this class of memoranda (we have neither) the present volume may be recommended as, perhaps, the best of its kind.

Titi Livi ab urbe condita, Libri I, II, XXI, et XXII. With Notes by Charles Anthon, LL.D., Late Professor of Greek at Columbia College; and by Hugh Craig, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. 12mo., pp. 592. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a posthumous work, duly supplemented, by the great American master of classical exegetics. The whole forms a very valuable class-book for academic use.

An English Commentary on The Rhesus, Medea, Hyppolytus, Alcestis, Heraclidæ, Supplices, and Troades of Euripides. With the Scanning of each Play, from the Latest and Best Authorities. By Charles Anthon, LL.D., Late Professor, etc. 24mo., green cloth, pp. 453. Harper & Brothers. 1877.

The notes without the Greek text.

The Agreement of Science and Revelation. By Rev. Jos. H. Wythe, M.D. Pp. 306. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1877.

This is a new and revised edition of this excellent work. It has been adopted as a class-book in the ministerial course by our Bishops.

Scriptural Holiness, and How to Spread it. A Discourse. By Rev. G. W. Burns, M.A., of the Central Illinois Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church. Published by request. Pamphlet. Pp. 20.

Not "Inskipian" in its views, but scriptural and Wesleyan.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. By Charles Hodge, D.D., Professor in Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. For the Use of Sunday-schools and Bible Classes. Nineteenth Edition. 12mo., pp. 352. New York: R. Carter & Brothers. 1878.

Scriptural Views of Holiness. By W. M'Donald, Author of the "New Testament Standard of Piety." 12mo., pp. 320. Philadelphia: National Publishing Association for the Promotion of Holiness. J. S. Inskip, Agent. 1877.

Cicero's Tusculan Disputations. Also, Treatises on The Nature of the Gods, and on The Commonwealth. Literally translated, chiefly by C. D. Yonge. 12mo., pp. 466. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

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